THINKING WITH AFRICA

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CHRISTIAN VOICES AROUND THE WORLD

THINKING WITH AFRICA

Chapters by a Group of Nationals Interpreting the Christian Movement

Assembled and edited by
MILTON STAUFFER
Educational Secretary Student Volunteer Movement

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Published for the
STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT
FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS
by the
MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
New York

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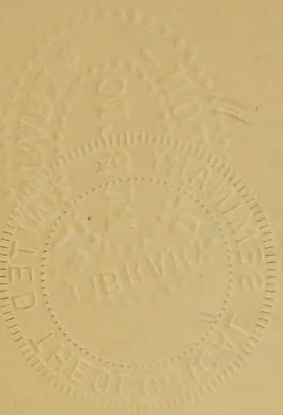

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UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

DR. CHARLES T. LORAM was born in Natal, educated there, and was graduated at the University of the Cape of Good Hope. He received his M.A. and Lt.B. from Kings College, Cambridge, and entered the service of the Natal government as high-school teacher and later as inspector of schools. Subsequently he did post-graduate work in education at Teachers College, Columbia University, and received his Ph.D. on the thesis, "The Education of the South African Native." Upon his return to Africa he was placed in charge of native education in Natal, and applied to the schools lessons learned in the Southern States. In 1920 he was appointed by General Smuts a member of the Native Affairs Commission, the office he now holds. He was a member of the two Phelps-Stokes Educational Commissions which inspected native schools in the Union of South Africa, North and South Rhodesia, Portuguese East Africa, and Nyasaland, and in 1925 he accompanied Mr. J. H. Oldham, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, on a visit to Tanganyika Territory, Kenya and Uganda. He was chairman of the Education Committee at the Christian Mission in Africa conference, Le Zoute, Belgium, in 1926, and is now chairman of the Bantu Research Board of the Union government, and examiner in African studies to the universities of South Africa and the Witwatersrand. He has written and lectured on native affairs in Africa, Europe and America.

THOMAS JESSE JONES, sociologist, was born in Wales in 1873 and came to America in 1884. He studied at Washington and Lee University and was graduated from Marietta College in 1897. He took his A.M. at Columbia in 1899, his Ph.D. there in 1904, and his B.D. at Union Theological Seminary in 1900. He was acting headworker at the University Settlement, New

York, 1901-02; director of the research department at Hampton Institute, Virginia, 1902-09; statistician in the United States Census Bureau, 1909-12; specialist in education for the United States Bureau of Education, 1912-19; and has been educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund since 1913. He was chairman of the Committee on Social Studies in Secondary Schools appointed by the National Education Association, chairman of the Educational Commission to West, South and Equatorial Africa, 1920-21, and to East Africa, 1924. He is the author of *Negro Education in the United States, Education in Africa, Education in East Africa, Educational Adaptations* (ten-year report of the work of the Phelps-Stokes Fund), and *Four Essentials of Education.*

R. V. SELOPE THEMA (*from an autobiographical statement*): "The story of my life may be summed up in the phrase, 'up from barbarism.' At the time of my birth the Transvaal was practically uncivilized. My people were living in the northern Transvaal, about thirty miles from the town of Pietersburg. Christians in this part of the country were few in number, and were often persecuted by the chiefs. They were regarded as mad people, and sometimes were given herbs to drink in order that they might vomit forth their madness. I was born in 1886. My parents did not come under the influence of Christianity until I was about ten years of age. At eleven I entered the village mission school.

"In those days the government of the Transvaal had nothing to do with native education, which was entirely confined to missionary efforts. The teachers were their own masters, and acted as inspectors of their own schools. My studies were interrupted by the Anglo-Boer War. My teacher, Mr. Dwashu, being a British subject, left the Transvaal at the outbreak. The republican government became hostile to all natives who were learning English, and Rev. William Mpamba, who was in charge of the Donhill Mission under the Free Church of Scotland, and our chief were arrested and imprisoned. In 1901 I ran away and joined the British troops at Pietersburg. My work was to look

after horses. After peace was declared I went to Pretoria and worked as a waiter in a boarding-house. Then I got a job in the Imperial Military Railway Dispensary.

"At the beginning of 1903 I went home to resume my studies. This time native schools were under the colonial government, and we were not allowed to go beyond the third standard, so in 1904 I was sent to a place about nine miles from my home to open a school there. With the little money I had earned as a teacher I started for Lovedale at the beginning of 1906 and was taken as a day scholar for two years and was then awarded the Hutton scholarship.

"I left Lovedale at the end of 1910 and became a teacher at home for a year. Then I went to Pietersburg and became clerk to a labor agent for three years, and in 1915 became a clerk in Johannesburg. I soon became interested in the African National Congress and served as its secretary. At the end of the Great War I went to England as secretary to the Deputation of the National Congress which was appointed to lay native grievances before His Majesty's government. On my return I toured the Transvaal, Natal, and the Cape, giving the report of the Deputation. In 1921 I became a member of the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, the organization which was inspired by Drs. Thomas Jesse Jones and J. E. K. Aggrey of the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission, and in 1925 I was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Council."

J. D. RHEINALLT JONES is Secretary of the Council of Education for Witwatersrand, and lecturer in Native Law and Administration at the University of Witwatersrand. He is the editor of "Bantu Studies," and organizer of the Witwatersrand University Movement. Among the offices with which he has been identified are Secretary of the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives; convener of the National Conference of Joint Councils, 1924; Secretary of the Dutch Reformed Church European-Bantu Conference, 1923 and 1927; President of the Transvaal Workers Educational Association; member of the Council of the South African Association for the Advancement

of Science; and member of several social welfare committees among both the white and colored peoples.

The VENERABLE ARCHDEACON WALTER EDWIN OWEN, born in 1879, has been Archdeacon of Kavirondo, Kenya Colony, since 1918. He was educated at St. Enoch's, Belfast, Ireland, and at Islington Theological College, and was ordained in 1904. He was rural Dean of Budu, Uganda, in 1915, and chaplain to the forces in the German East Africa campaign in 1916. He has published articles on native questions in the East African *Standard*, and has made translations into three Bantu languages.

MRS. WINIFRED HOERNLÉ is an English South African, born in Kimberley in 1885 and educated in South Africa, a graduate in 1906 of the old University of the Cape of Good Hope with honors in philosophy. Thereafter she went to Newnham College, Cambridge, to study anthropology, continuing this study in Germany and France until 1912. Returning to South Africa, she was sent by the University of Cape Town into the field to study the social organization of the Hottentots. In 1914 she was married to Professor R. F. A. Hoernlé and with him went to the United States, to Harvard University. In 1922 she returned to Southwest Africa to complete her studies of the almost extinct Hottentot culture. Some results of this work have been published in the Harvard *African Studies*, the *American Anthropologist*, and the *South African Journal of Science*. Since 1923 Mrs. Hoernlé has been lecturing in social anthropology at the University of Witwatersrand, making a special study of African kinship organization and African sacrificial systems with Professor Radcliffe Brown, formerly of Cape Town and now of Sydney, Australia.

DAVIDSON DON TENGO JABAVU was born of Christian parents in 1885 at King Williamstown, Cape Province, and began his education in a school of the Wesleyan Methodists in his home village. He attended high school in Morija, Basutoland, and in 1902 took the Junior Certificates at Lovedale High

School. Thereafter, on being refused admission into white colleges, he took his London University matriculation at Colwyn Bay, North Wales. After six years of study in London he received the degree of B.A. from London University, and later his education diploma from Birmingham University.

After qualifying in the theory and practice of journalism at the Kensington Business College and with the *Kent Messenger* at Maidstone, he took courses in religious and social work in the Woodbrooke and Kingsmead Quaker settlements at Birmingham. He then went to the United States to study the educational system at Tuskegee Institute where, at the request of the South Africa Union Government, he wrote a report in which he showed how the Tuskegee methods could be adapted to education in South Africa.

Returning to South Africa in 1914, he conducted his father's newspaper, *Imvo Zabantsundu* (*Native Opinion*), and two years afterwards was appointed Professor of Bantu Studies at the first college of university status ever established for the Bantu of South Africa, the South African Native College, Fort Hare, where he now lectures.

Mr. Jabavu is a layman in the Methodist church and a public lecturer before white and black audiences. He started the movement for Native Farmers' Associations, of which there are now over thirty throughout the country. He also organized the native teachers into an influential Union Federation of which he is now President. At the death of his father in 1921 he took charge of the *Imvo Zabantsundu*. He is the author of *The Black Problem*.

ZACCHEUS R. MAHABANE, born in 1881 at Groot Lock, in the Union of South Africa, was a herd boy until he reached the age of eleven, when his parents were converted to Christianity. He received his elementary education at the Wesleyan Mission School at Thaba Ncho, later entering the Normal School at Morija, Basutoland. He obtained his teacher's certificate of the Cape of Good Hope Educational Department of the first grade in 1901, and acted as first assistant teacher at Thaba Ncho from 1902 to 1904. He entered the local magistrate's office as

interpreter in native languages and clerical assistant from 1905 to 1908, when he entered a theological school, being ordained to the ministry of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa in 1914. He was stationed at Bensonvale in the Herschel District in 1910-1916, transferred to the Cape Town Native Mission, 1916-1921, and appointed to the superintendency of the Vrede (Native) Circuit in 1921, where he remained for six years. He was elected President of the Cape Provincial Branch of the African National Congress in 1919, and promoted to the office of President-General in 1924, which position he still holds. He was one of the delegates to the Government Native Conference held at Bloemfontein in 1922, a member of the South African General Missionary Conference at Durban, Natal, in 1921, and at Johannesburg, Transvaal, in June, 1925. He was a delegate to the Conference on Native Affairs held under the auspices of the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches in September, 1923. He visited England, Belgium and France to attend the international conference on the Christian Mission in Africa held at Le Zoute, Belgium, 1926. He is the author of a pamphlet, "The Color Bar," published in 1923.

WALTER BENSON RUBUSANA, PH.D., was born in 1858 at Mnandi, District of Somerset East, Cape Province, and educated at Peelton Mission Station and Lovedale Missionary Institution, where he passed the Cape teachers' examination with honors. He studied for the Christian ministry under the auspices of the London Missionary Society and was appointed head teacher of the Peelton Independent School. In 1884 he was ordained for the ministry and appointed a representative of the Congregational Union of South Africa in the Board of Revisers of the Xosa Bible, with five missionary colleagues. He was engaged in this translation for twenty years, and at its completion was deputed by the board to proceed to England and see the volume through the press. He was the first President of the South Africa Native Convention after the Union in 1909. He headed a native deputation to England in 1909 to protest against the insertion of the color bar in the South African

Constitution. He was also one of the South African delegates to the Universal Races Congress held in London in 1911. He was the first native in South Africa to be elected to the Cape Provincial Council as member for Tembuland in the Transkeian Territories.

MAX YERGAN has been identified with five years of work among South African students, and attention has been called to his name by the Harmon Award in 1926 for distinguished religious service among Negroes. He specialized in sociology and modern languages at Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C., where he was graduated with honors in 1914. He took special studies at the International Y.M.C.A. College at Springfield, and spent two years as traveling secretary for colored students. In 1916 he decided to go to India to help with the work among native troops. Later he was transferred to East Africa with a detachment of Indian troops. Although he suffered repeated attacks of African fever, he stayed for two years, until six young men had been recruited in the United States to help him with the work. During the latter part of the war he served as chaplain at Camp Lee, and was later sent to France to finish up work among the colored units of the expeditionary forces. On his return he was instrumental in the initiation of Y.M.C.A. work in South Africa, and went there as its first Secretary in 1921.

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CHRISTIAN VOICES AROUND THE WORLD SERIES

THINKING WITH AFRICA
VOICES FROM THE NEAR EAST
CHINA HER OWN INTERPRETER
JAPAN SPEAKS FOR HERSELF
AN INDIAN APPROACH TO INDIA
AS PROTESTANT LATIN AMERICA SEES IT

PREFACE

THE present student generation in North America is no longer willing to depend entirely on the foreign missionary for its understanding of Christian movements in so-called mission fields. For practically the same reasons many missionaries are beginning to feel that they have been speaking for the Christian converts of other lands long enough. In the judgment of both these groups the day for the voice of nationals to be heard in our Western churches is at hand. That there are Christian leaders today in almost every land who are sufficiently able to interpret the Christianity of their communities to parent communities in the West, is living proof of the prophetic insight of pioneer missionaries who long ago by faith first caught the vision of this day. To their faithful witness and early sowing, this series entitled *Christian Voices Around the World* is affectionately dedicated.

As never before, the young people of our North American churches and colleges find themselves sympathetic toward the national and racial aspirations of other peoples. Their sympathy leads them to question some of the aims and methods in the Christian missionary enterprise which appear to ignore or run counter to these aspirations. Many of them have

heard their own and foreign fellow-students counsel immediate discontinuance of foreign missions as now conducted, and even express doubt as to whether the missionary enterprise can be longer justified. However able the missionaries may be to deal with perplexities like these, they cannot satisfy the desire of those who are disturbed, to hear the opinion of nationals as well. Not until the Christian youth of North America are convinced that the foreign missionary enterprise is fulfilling, in the judgment of indigenous Christian leaders, the largest needs of the peoples it means to serve, will they be enthusiastically behind it, at home or abroad.

This *Christian Voices Around the World* series has been initiated and sponsored by the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. We have been encouraged from the beginning by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, representing missionaries and foreign mission board secretaries, by the Council of Christian Associations, representing students and student leaders, and by the Missionary Education Movement, representing the mission boards in their cooperative educational work among the churches. In order that the books might be just as readily available to the young people of the churches as to college students, the Missionary Education Movement offered to publish the series, and

has generously put all of its resources for editing and circulation into the enterprise.

In view of the purpose of this series and of the character of the manuscripts a statement of editorial policy is due both authors and readers. Some chapters were written in English, and others came to us as rough translations, manifesting in both cases varying stages of knowledge of the language. Many chapters were in uncertain stages so far as arrangement of material and literary quality are concerned. But more of them than the average reader might suppose were submitted in such form as to require surprisingly few editorial changes. Wherever the grammatical construction in the original was obviously wrong or obscured or impaired the thought, I have not hesitated to change, even drastically, both construction and phraseology. Verbal substitutions in the interest of clarity have also been made. Frequently the idiomatic terms which seemed to have been intended have been supplied. Wherever the meaning could not be determined, rather than risk misrepresenting the author the part was deleted. There have also been the usual editorial exigencies relating to space. Having said this, let me hasten to add that scrupulous effort has been made to preserve the integrity of thought and the individuality of each manuscript. The constant endeavor has been to safe-

guard both the intention of the writer and the underlying spirit of the series.

Annotations by way of directing the reader to supplementary material, or defining the terms used, or suggesting other points of view in the interests of a more balanced presentation, have been omitted. For so many years the missionary's point of view has been presented without annotations from nationals that it now seems only fair to apply the same method the other way around.

Readers will discover defects inevitable to a symposium. There is repetition because of overlapping ground and the inability of the writers to consult together. The contributions are not of equal literary quality, and wide differences of intellectual content exist between chapters. The material is not always what missionaries themselves would have presented, nor is it always the most significant with reference to present phases of missionary interest in North America. On the other hand it is exactly what we have asked for, an honest revelation of what Christian nationals are thinking and saying among themselves. No attempts have been made to reconcile conflicting opinions. Wherever possible the edited manuscripts have been submitted with the originals to consultants from the country concerned for scrutiny of changes made. Obviously the author of each chapter is alone responsible for the facts and the opinions stated.

In this volume, *Thinking with Africa*, a policy of joint African and European authorship was agreed upon, first because the limits of time within which the chapters had to be written imposed too severe a condition on African writers of limited experience, and second because it seemed good to symbolize the cooperation between races which must come to be increasingly the working policy in every department of life. Accordingly, three of the chapters are the contribution of American and European authors.

Dr. S. M. Molema of British Bechuanaland, South Africa, who we had hoped would supply the chapter on "Our Cultural Heritage," found it impossible to do so, and we were obliged to appeal to Dr. C. T. Loram, who, though a European, has spent most of his life in South Africa, is Commissioner of Native Affairs, and is notably qualified to cover all phases of this field. Most Africans reading Mrs. Winifred Hoernlé's scholarly and sympathetic chapter will agree that even though she also is a European the chapter might appropriately have been entitled, "The Bantu Religion Through the Bantu's Eyes." Fortunately the Venerable Archdeacon W. E. Owen generously consented to supply a brief study of "Our Changing Life and Thought in East Africa" when it seemed impossible to find an African author to undertake this task. Repeated efforts were made to secure a

parallel statement on West Africa from the late J. E. K. Aggrey, Vice-Principal of Achimota College, Accra, Gold Coast. The unexpected death of this gifted educational leader and radiant Christian in the summer of 1927 robbed us of this contribution. Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Secretary of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, has granted us permission to print extracts from his address on "New Forces in Africa," delivered at the Conference on the Christian Mission in Africa, Le Zoute, Belgium, in September 1926. The editor acknowledges gratefully the help of the Rev. James Henderson, Principal of Lovedale Missionary Institution, South Africa, in editing and expanding the Rev. Mr. Mahabane's article, and of Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, who collaborated with Mr. Selope Thema on Chapter VI. It is interesting to note, in connection with this interracial cooperation in authorship, that Mr. Thema and Mr. Jones are joint secretaries of the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives.

MILTON STAUFFER

New York
October, 1927

THINKING WITH AFRICA

I

OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE

NOT so many years ago there was told a story to the effect that a journalist, on being sent to investigate the manners and customs of a certain "primitive" people, reported briefly: "Manners none; customs beastly." This story has lost much of its point today as a result of the wonderful advance made in the sciences of social anthropology and ethnology. Every year a stream of ethnographical books written by missionaries, officials, explorers, and even globe-trotters reveals the customs of primitive people, and every year scientists and philosophers are examining, collating and synthesizing these facts into an ordered system of knowledge. It soon becomes apparent that customs have a real meaning to those who practise them; that many practices are pillars of political, social and religious institutions; and that to uproot them or even to tamper with them may cause serious damage.

To illustrate: From time immemorial the South African natives have practised the *ukulobola* custom, whereby a bridegroom hands over to the bride's father or family a number of cattle before he takes the woman as his wife. This practice has been

wrongly interpreted by some missionaries as the "sale" of the woman, and has accordingly been forbidden to their Christian converts. This rule has, however, been disregarded by the great majority of Christian natives, and the *lobola* cattle are passed openly or in secret. Where there has been difficulty in providing the price, as where the natives are living town lives in South Africa's urban locations, and where consequently the *lobola* custom has fallen into desuetude, irregular unions of men and women have resulted, with considerable deterioration to the moral life of the people.

To tamper with native custom may produce deleterious effects. Many years ago the government of the province of Natal, in a laudable endeavor to check litigation with regard to the payment of *lobola*, limited the number of cattle for which a legal claim could be made to ten. This had the altogether unexpected result that the notion of the "sale" of the woman at the fixed price of ten head of cattle has been engendered, an idea which has grown in recent years, since the loss of stock by plague has led to the replacement of *lobola* cattle by gold and silver coinage. Primitive native life is so closely articulated that even a slight change in one respect may result in marked changes elsewhere.

With regard to the recognition of native custom the pendulum is, however, swinging today in the other direction, and governments are striving to re-

tain native law and custom, as the Native Administration Bill now before the Parliament of the Union of South Africa bears witness. Missionaries of the older school complain that the Christian church today is too willing to compromise on this question, and that evils of heathen life are being condoned and even encouraged. As usual, wisdom lies midway. There is much of native law and custom which is altogether immoral in Christian eyes and antagonistic to the spread of the Christian religion. The missionary cannot of course accept this sort of practice or even compromise with it. There is, however, much more in native custom which is either good in itself or can be made good with a little skilful effort on the part of the missionaries. Such customs should be sought out and cherished by the missionary, for not only are they perhaps cornerstones of African morality, but they are almost always sure foundations for the superstructure of an effective Christianity. It is the purpose of this paper to draw attention to some aspects of Africa's cultural heritage which should be retained as the basis for the development of a Christian personality.

§

The social organization of African life is very different from that of the Western races. The African as an individual counts for little or nothing. His whole life is bound up with that of his family, clan

As such he must be given all the freedom, commercial opportunity and individual initiative which were characteristic of the political philosophy of the nineteenth century. Thus the black man was given the vote. If he was a voter he was permitted to buy white man's liquor; his lands were divided into individual holdings; in his schools the vernacular was suppressed, and English became the sole medium of instruction. It must be borne in mind that these acts were not those of a tyrant but of a friend, and that they were readily acquiesced in by the black man himself.

On the other hand, where repression followed by differentiation was the policy of the European conqueror, and where it was desired to "keep the native in his place," there the black man's separateness and tribalism were permitted and even bolstered up. In the courts of law the chiefs' judgments were made enforceable by the government police. In education the vernacular was the chief and almost the sole medium of instruction. In some parts of South Africa even today a black man is regarded as impertinent if he addresses a white man in English instead of in the mongrel "kitchen Kafir," which is the medium of communication between the races; the better the English the greater the offence. In the British protectorates such as Uganda, Basutoland, and Bechuanaland, tribalism has been fostered; and where deliberate attempts have been made to educate the

chiefs, as has long been the case in Uganda and is today the case in Zululand, the results have been very satisfactory.

Missionary teaching has for the most part run counter to the tribal system. In the first place Christianity has been presented, especially by the Protestant missionaries, as a personal and not a community religion. To the missionary the individual soul has been all important, hence we have the emphasis in the school curriculum on reading, so that individual appreciation of Bible truths may be easy. In the second place the native chief has generally regarded Christianity as a disruptive force which tends to preach equality and to break down tribal customs on which his authority and indeed part of his income depend, so that the missionary was often forced to work, as it were, against the chief and the tribal system. In the third place the missionary has found many tribal customs incompatible with Christianity, and since all native custom was inextricably bound up with tribalism, it seemed necessary for him to oppose the whole system.

An increasing number of missionaries, however, especially in recent years when anthropological knowledge has been spread among them, have realized the wisdom of allowing and even of encouraging the Africans to keep their tribal organization. Experience in Bechuanaland under the great Khama, and in Uganda and elsewhere, shows that with edu-

cated and Christian chiefs the tribal system suits the African admirably at his present stage of development. Along with this there is the slow but steady growth of African nationalism. Among the African natives there is the growing desire to be really African and not imitation European. Already the black man is claiming the monopoly of the appellation African. It seems certain that an effort will be made to maintain all that is good in the tribal system. The Africans themselves are in favor of it, the governments are supporting this view, and the missionaries will no doubt follow the lead given to them by the Christian Mission in Africa conference of 1926, which declared strongly against denationalization.

A striking quality which is clearly part of the African's cultural heritage is his concept of the dignity of human nature. It is not easy to translate the Xosa word *ubuntu* into English, but a few illustrations will show its nature. "*Ubuntu*," says Father Callaway in his wise and charming treatment of the subject in *The Fellowship of the Veld*, "implies a certain respect for the dignity of human nature itself, apart from the extraneous advantages of education, wealth, position, etc. A man is a person (*umntu*) and ought to be encouraged to realize the dignity of human nature. A man cannot despise another without harming himself, without doing despite to the human nature possessed with all other men."

Because a man is a member of the human race he has the qualities of humanity and should act as such and in turn be treated as such, no matter whether he be rich or poor, captive or free, chief or peasant. He is a man and as such must be treated with respect, and a person who does not so treat him forfeits his own quality of humanity.

Because the African lives his life in the open and because he shares things so readily with his fellows he is often regarded as a communist or socialist. Indeed one author has gone so far as to write an interesting book on the customs of the Xosa people of South Africa and to entitle it *Kafir Socialism.* It seems to the present writer that native custom is not socialistic in our Western sense of the term. The black man shows strong individualistic traits in dealing with his land, his cattle, and his rights generally. This so-called socialism is his humanity exhibiting itself in practice. A native who has food will ordinarily share it with one who has no food, not because of Christian charity and not because he himself expects repayment at some future time, but because this is what a human being would naturally do. Similarly no native need sleep on the veld or in the jungle. The village or hut is sure to give him shelter, even though he belongs to a different tribe. Nay, more, if he does not come up and ask for food or shelter there must be something wrong

with him. It is only the wizard or witch who lives alone, walks alone, and does not indulge in gossip, the chief delight of the African.

Of all the wild flowers in the garden where the missionary sets out to plant the word of God, it seems to me that this *ubuntu* is the most beautiful and most precious. How dangerous to uproot it and attempt to plant an exotic which, flourishing easily in Europe or America, finds it hard to acclimatize itself to the African soil. How foolish of the white man generally, and how wrong of the missionary, to deny his own humanity by despising the natives as a race, and so refusing to respect the *ubuntu* or human nature shared by us all. Consciously or unconsciously the missionary in Africa is doing this every day. "Sir," said an old native minister to me when I was making a study of the separatist movement among native churches (*International Review of Missions*, July, 1926), "in the old days the white missionary took me into his study for a cup of tea and a talk when I called upon him. Today I am told to wait in the kitchen." The complaint that the color bar has entered into the domain of religion is heard on all sides in South Africa today. If there is one thing the white man in Africa has yet to learn and when he has learned, to practise, it is to respect his black neighbor. This does not necessitate social equality, with its attendant bugbear of intermarriage, but a recognition of the common humanity of black and white.

"*Ubuntu* is really nothing else than the image of God stamped upon man, and by failing to respect that image we fail to respect God."

One can see at a glance the richness of this field for the planting of the Christian message and the Christian virtues of service, humility, loving kindness and charity. The African lives more nearly than most other races up to the teaching of the eleventh commandment, and the African Christian should find the Sermon on the Mount more easy of application than does the modern white man with his individualistic outlook on life.

How easy it should be for the Christian missionary to engraft the teaching of Christianity on to this sturdy native stock, to show the convert that this *ubuntu* which he practises is the brotherhood of man which follows on the acceptance of the Fatherhood of God. As Callaway finely puts it, "The priest and the Levite of the parable are clearly shown to have cast away the dignity of manhood. The Samaritan is arrayed for all time in that dignity. Our Lord himself is seen to be the neighbor in a double capacity. He both stoops down to relieve the needs of a wounded humanity and identifies himself with every suppliant: 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these, ye did it unto me.' "

A characteristic of the social organization of most African tribes is the relationship system. Claiming descent from a common ancestor, the tribesmen live

in very definite relationship to one another and have a "behavior pattern," or stereotyped method of reaction towards every other member of the tribe. For example, a young man may be informal with his grandparents but not with his parents or uncles. The mother-in-law is even a far more terrifying person in Bantu life than she is among Europeans. More important to the young man are the mother's brothers, who can pull many strings for him or against him. On the side of the woman there are also traditional ways of behaving. So much must she respect her husband's father that she must never use his name; but she can be friendly and even familiar with his mother and his mother's relatives. There are again the hundred and one points of etiquette which each member of the sib must observe. There is one side of the hut for women, another for the men; there is one way of sitting for the women and another for the men. The cattle must not be dealt with by the woman, and the man must not prepare his food.

Native social life is thus a bewildering mosaic of behavior patterns. To the uninitiated a custom may appear "silly," yet the wise missionary will refrain from breaking it down, for he believes that it would not have survived so long if it had not held something of good, and he knows that if one custom is altered, a change not necessarily for good will be effective on others also.

In uncontaminated African society, as it exists in some parts of the continent today, a most beautiful and complete altruism is practised. Widows are provided for. No orphanages or almshouses are needed, and best of all, perhaps, there are no old maids. Children are an asset and not a liability, and there would be competition among kinsmen for a deceased relative's children, did not their social organization indicate clearly who was to be the guardian of the orphans. Similarly the care of one's own old folks, of the aged generally, and of the half-witted, is laid down clearly by traditional laws.

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It is a debatable point how far the Christian missionary must in loyalty to his faith interfere with the expressions of the African's social relationships. In the past, as we have seen, he for the most part flouted them; but the new missionary agrees with Dr. Donald Fraser, who, at the International Conference on the Christian Mission in Africa of 1926, said, "I fear the evangel which denationalizes," and pleaded for forms of Christianity which were African as well as Christian. And yet the Christian worker must also give heed to Dr. Zwemer, who at the same conference, taking the degraded African forms of Islamism as his example, warned us against opening the door to a trickling stream of animism which might after all engulf the church.

It has been suggested that the difficulty arises because the missionary fails to distinguish between what is customary and what is wrong, and that in his zeal he sometimes creates artificial sins. The writer knows of several instances where positive harm has come because a missionary has refused to allow the practice of customs which, though good on the whole, contained some reprehensible element. Several of these are mentioned in the paragraphs dealing with initiation and marriage. What is good and what is bad is so much a point of view. Africans are shocked to see white men and women dancing together, and it is said that they regarded as morally wrong Livingstone's act of traveling in the same wagon with his wife immediately after the birth of their son. The Le Zoute conference, after enunciating the principle that everything that is good in the African's heritage should be conserved, enriched, and ennobled by contact with the spirit of Christianity, divided customs into three categories:

(1) Customs which are evil—these could not be sanctioned by the Christian Church; (2) customs which are not incompatible with Christian life—these should not be condemned; (3) customs some of whose features may be evil but whose substance is valuable—these may be purified and used.

It also expressed the opinion that in all matters of Christian custom the advice of African Christians should be sought. It was mentioned that when the

Christian ruler of Uganda was to be installed, the elders of the church were asked to say which of the customary ceremonies could be consistently performed by a Christian ruler. The writer's experience, however, would suggest the warning that the Africans consulted be representative of all sections of the community. A body of African pastors who have the well-known zeal of young reformers is quite likely to be more severe on African custom than a group of European ministers themselves.

The more the African customs are studied the more intelligible and significant seem to be the reasons behind them. Something has already been said in this paper about the common custom of *ukulobola*, but it is only now that we seem to be on the verge of discovering its real meaning. It is quite certain that it is not the sale of the woman, though it has the appearance of sale at times, especially in its debased forms. It seems equally certain that it is not merely compensation to parents for the loss of their daughter, though that element does certainly enter into the case. It seems more true to say with Mrs. Hoernlé that "we are dealing in these marriage rites not with individual actions but with age-old ritual customs, which when analyzed take us to the very heart of the deep human sentiments on which social life is based." The most probable explanation is that the custom is intended to preserve the relationship of friendship and stability between the man's group and the

woman's group, and that it marks a very definite change in the status of the woman and gives the man power over the children of the union.

If this is so it would seem to be a social heritage of the African which actually contributes to the achievement of Christian personality; and since the custom can be divested of the evils which have attached themselves to it, there seems to be no reason why Christian Africans should be barred from it. One is strengthened in this view when one sees how native society can be demoralized by the absence of the custom in the urban areas of South Africa. It has been stated that 50% of the births in the urban locations are the result of unions not legalized by Christian or civil marriage nor sanctioned by native custom. There has been no *lobola*, and a state almost approaching to promiscuity in some cases has resulted.

Another social heritage of the African is the initiation ceremony, both for young men and young women. The general practice is that as the boy approaches the period of puberty he and his fellows are secluded from the rest of the group and are instructed in tribal history and law and the duties of manhood. A similar ceremony takes place with girls. It is quite certain that a good deal of the instruction, and some of this of a revolting nature, is related to matters of sex, but there is generally much more than this in the usual initiation school. Sacrifices to the ancestral spirits are carried out by the chief. A

useful ideal of physical endurance is inculcated, and instruction given in the history of the people and in the virtues of obedience, courage, loyalty. The circumcision ceremony which generally takes place has the symbolical experience of cutting off the boy from his boyhood life now that he has become a man.

How important the ceremony is in the eyes of the natives may be seen from the fact that the chief's sons and daughters undergo the rite along with the children of the ordinary tribesmen. If it is omitted they think that trouble will surely result. At the insistence of a strong missionary, the son of a certain chief in Pondoland did not go through the ceremony, and so did not get the very rough and ready introduction to his future subjects afforded by the initiation school. The result, so say the Pondos, was that he was weak and arbitrary, headstrong and a failure as a chief. In another instance a missionary persuaded a group of his converts to refrain from sending their sons to the initiation school. The result was that the young men had difficulty in getting wives, for the people of the tribe did not regard them as grown up.

This plan of separating a section of the people from the rest of the community for purposes of Christian instruction is common in mission work. Many mission stations have their Christian villages, almost all maintain boarding schools for the purpose of edifying the children in the new faith, and confirmation and communion classes are part of mis-

sionary technique. The idea of initiation schools is thus common to both Christian and "heathen"; the root principle is much the same though the methods of procedure are different. The question naturally follows, why does not the white missionary make use of the African initiation school and Christianize it? There may be cases where the ceremony is so debased that this cannot be done with safety, but there are cases on record where the missionary has been able to Christianize initiation schools. The young men were withdrawn from the general society, went into seclusion with their missionary, who was also a medical man, received Christian teaching, and were duly circumcised.

After the initiation ceremony the young man becomes a new being and as such needs and receives a new name. Here we can surely make use of an African name instead of having to use a Biblical name in a Europeanized form. If there is no suitable African name we can create one without much difficulty.

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Much could be written of the language, art, music, and literature of the Africans. Here it will be sufficient to say that these have been developed to become a real part of their life and a possible contribution to humanity in general. Through these arts the African people have been expressing themselves, and it would

be a thousand pities if well-meaning missionaries were not to make use of them.

Take the case of the language first. To know the African you must know his language, and when you know his language you generally end by wishing to preserve it. Of course there are many Europeans—some of them missionaries—who either cannot or more often will not learn the African tongues. Dr. Westermann caused much heart-searching when at the great missionary conference at Le Zoute in 1926 he asked bluntly, "How many missionaries in Africa are able to preach to a rural community without an interpreter?" People who were present at that conference will never forget the startling effect of the Zulu prayer offered by the Rev. John Dube of Natal, with its simplicity and its music. Yet it will require effort on the part of the missionary to preserve the African languages. The cost of publication and the multiplicity of tongues make the creation of an African literature a matter of the greatest difficulty. The wise policy of finding main languages and of relating the other tongues to them is being only partially successful, and the practice of some government officials in forcing a trade language, such as Hausa or Swahili, is not helping matters. Yet when the languages have been carefully reduced to writing for some years, as is the case with some of the South African native tongues, an indigenous literature can

be created and enjoyed. African folk tales, whether in their original form or in American Negro dressing, are full of charm and homely wisdom, while their proverbs, riddles and guessing games abound in practical philosophy. How true it is all over the world that "Distant firewood is good firewood," and "Full-belly child says to Empty-belly child, 'Be of good cheer.'" The world would be poorer without this wisdom and humor and the flexible and developing language in which it is clothed.

It is agreed on all sides that one of the great contributions which the African has made and is yet to make to the world is his music. Extensive samples of African music have been given to the world by the American Negroes in their spirituals and in their jazz. The work of at least one contemporary native African is cited in the records of significant modern music, Ballanta Taylor, present holder of a Guggenheim fellowship. It is only now that researchers are willing to throw off their traditional musical theories and to attend to what may be a new system of musical notation. Miss Earthy in her illuminating paper in the *International Review of Missions* for October 1926 quotes Professor Raymond Dart as saying:

"Are we to replace with the zither, mouth organ, Jew's-harp and ragtime, the impressive war chants, songs of victory and pæans of praise and the soul-stirring war and ritual dances of the natives? These forms of expression of tribal emotion . . . if gath-

ered and developed by sympathetic and understanding musicians and dancers, may serve as a basis of a national musical and rhythmical art unconceived hitherto. What does not European musical and rhythmical art itself owe to the wandering gipsy, to the peasant folk songs and dances of the European continent, to the dirges and chants of India, and to the love songs of the Orient? It is not too much to anticipate that Africa has a contribution yet to make to these highest international expressions of human emotion." With reference to the use of music in the service of religion, the article adds, "What a service of praise could be rendered by a band of Chopi pianos, drums, and Shangaan harps, accompanying the singing of hymns to a native rhythm."

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Our brief account has shown us that African culture abounds in material which, from the point of creating a Christian personality, is either good in itself or can be made good without much difficulty. In particular does this apply to the charming family and tribal life. It is safe to say that African social life in the family and the tribe is not a whit inferior to our own. The love of parents, the obedience of children, the respect for age, the charity towards all, are just the elementary virtues which our Lord tried to teach both by precept and example. To this we can add the wonderful feeling of brotherhood and the recogni-

tion of a common humanity. These feelings express themselves in a closely articulated tribal life and through primitive art, music, and literature. Surely all these are worth preserving, and yet the missionary has often consciously or unconsciously been their destroyer. How much easier and how much more lasting would have been his work if he could have made use of the cultural heritage of the African, stressing what was good and sublimating what was bad. How much more successful he would have been if he had interpreted his Christianity into social life, as is done by Miss Earthy in the article referred to:

"The conception of the Fatherhood of God, the all-wise and all-powerful Creator, and of our Lord as the Elder Brother of all Christians, is also one which appeals to the African mind. For the terms father and elder brother connote a great deal to the Bantu mind. They are held in great respect and have great authority over the rest of the family.

"Some simple teaching such as the following appeals to the women and seems to be understood: 'You were born a member of God's own great human family, of an African race, of the tribe of Va-Chopi, of the clan of Muyanga [this rivets their attention, as they are very proud of their clans and their praïse-names]. At your second birth in holy baptism you become a member of God's own great Christian family. God is your Father in a special way, because you are united in baptism to our Lord Jesus

Christ, the Son of God, who is himself God and our great Elder Brother. And as children inherit their father's property, so do you become an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven, because you are now the children of God and united to our blessed Lord. At your baptism the Holy Spirit comes to you to give you new life. But the seed of eternal life sown in your hearts in baptism will grow and be strengthened by the gifts of the Holy Spirit at confirmation.' A simile of the seed growing in the field, to illustrate growth in the spiritual life, appeals to women who do so much sowing, planting and reaping. The fact that the spiritual life is also a keen contest can be illustrated by references to tribal wars or to their own great annual dancing contest."

The need for a deliberate and persistent attempt to retain the best elements of Africa's cultural heritage is the more pressing because of the rapidity with which the continent is being Europeanized. There is a real danger that the African may develop an open or latent inferiority attitude with regard to past achievements of his race. In the past the Christian missionary has more than once saved the African from danger. Is it too much to hope that he will help him to save his cultural heritage from impairment or loss?

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II

OUR CHANGING LIFE AND THOUGHT

I. IN AFRICA AS A WHOLE

AFRICA is above all others the continent of new forces. There are the economic resources of soil, minerals and water-power, toward which the economic agencies of the world are turning with an eager interest, full of promise or of threat. There are the awakenings of the African people, seemingly for the first time conscious of the great world in which they live. Colonial governments throughout the great continent are actively reorganizing their policies for good or for ill. The mandate responsibilities of nations have become the object of international concern. The mission societies of Europe and America and their devoted workers in every corner of the continent have felt the pull and the push of the strange forces about them, and are entering more deeply than ever into the warp and woof of African life.

Africa is no longer the great dark continent; nine-tenths of its area and its people have been partitioned among the European Powers. Its plains and valleys are threaded by 35,000 miles of railways and many more miles of highways. The forces of civilization are everywhere on hand for the weal or

woe of Africa and Africans. The world now looks upon a great continent of misunderstandings, perplexities and anxieties. We shall know Africa gradually as the continent of opportunities, until finally it shall be revealed to us as the continent of responsibilities.

As Dr. Aggrey has told us in picturesque language, even the form of the continent presents to us one great question mark among the continents of the earth. Questions of vital and international significance press upon us for answer. Have European influences improved or oppressed the African people? Is African self-consciousness real or artificial? What is the meaning of primitive life? Why should colonial governments continue? Have the independent nations of Liberia and Abyssinia succeeded? What are the possibilities of mandate governments and the authority of the League of Nations as regards the future of Africa? Are the economic agencies of Europe and America necessary to the well-being of the continent? Will their activities be exploitation or development? Most vital to all of us is the question: Why missionaries in Africa?

These are no questions of mere curiosity. Each inquiry bears directly on the new forces in Africa. They transfer the research from the realm of the descriptive and the static to the realm of the dynamic, the vital and the real. There is an imperative quality in each question that should arrest the atten-

tion of all who are concerned in human welfare and the peace of the world.

Let us proceed to an analysis of the new forces. I realize fully that there are exceptions to what I shall state. We desire here an accurate picture with no danger of overlooking any important conditions which exist. Do not mistake my optimism for blindness or indifference to the misfortunes, injustices and even oppressions in some parts of the continent. Injustices and oppressions there are, and most of all there are indifferences and misunderstandings. The justification for my optimism, however, is that I believe in Africa and Africans, that I believe in the basic justice of other parts of the world, and that I have faith to believe that the spirit of cooperation will unite all elements for the full and comprehensive development of Africa and Africans.

There are manifest in Africa today three main forms in which new forces find embodiment: (1) economic exploitation of material resources and native peoples; (2) recently formulated policies of governments, economic agencies and missions; and (3) new attitudes, which ultimately govern both policies and developmental action, and which are evident to a remarkable extent among governments, economic agencies, missions, native peoples and international Powers.

Much time and space could be devoted to a descriptive statement of these new forces. The amaz-

ing wealth of Africa is beginning to be known by the students of raw materials. Africa is more and more heralded as the one remaining continent for raw material to which all the overpopulated continents must turn. Even the casual reader is wearied with references to Johannesburg mines producing one-third of the gold output of the world; to Kimberley providing four-fifths of the diamonds of the present day; to the immense coal fields still in the infancy of their production; the platinum reefs; the radium-bearing ores; the iron-stone plateaus; and the wonderful copper fields of the Katanga and neighboring regions. Note is being taken of the potentialities of the soil. Articles on the production of cocoa, coffee, cotton and rubber appear not only in geographical magazines but in daily newspapers. The geographical proximity of these great resources to Europe and America thrills the imagination of commerce and industry and impels to definite plans of action. Significant as these potentialities are to the world they are not the forces that most matter.

Policies of governments and other agencies are far more significant and vital. The study of colonial policies, both at the seat of home governments in Europe and at the colonial capitals, reveals an eager interest sometimes almost hectic in character. Time does not permit even an enumeration of new policies that have been adopted since the Great War.

The forces that are really vital for the future of

Africa are, as we have said, the new attitudes now taking form with increasing definiteness on the part of governments, economic agencies, missions, natives and international Powers. Through them we can better understand the meaning of economic exploitations, the significance of policies, and the probable trend of affairs for Africa and Africans. Herein we shall ascertain the extent of selfishness and the sincerity of altruism in all plans for Africa. What, then, are the attitudes of the five agencies concerned in the development of the "great continent of opportunities and responsibilities"?

And first the attitude of governments. Never before have colonial governments shown so many evidences of a genuine altruistic concern in the colonial people who have come under their authority. While there are most unfortunate exceptions to the rule, the general trend seems to be strongly in the direction of a real interest in the welfare of the people. Possibly the most general of the many influences which have contributed to this trend is the worldwide recognition of that much misunderstood and much misused idea of self-determination. Whatever we may think of its successes and failures, the thought has played a real part in the affairs of colonial governments.

The mandate conception of government is another influence on behalf of the welfare of the native people. Ideals of government control and direction conceived under international auspices seem to be more

directly based upon the conception of the general good of the people. Special privileges to the controlling Powers are not so readily granted. Provisions for trusteeship are more effective. There is real hope that the ideals and methods of trusteeship as realized in the mandated areas will be extended to other areas through the power of good example.

An attitude of equal importance is the increasing recognition of the right of the native people to participate in government. Among the forms of this recognition the notable examples are the Transkeian Native Council in South Africa, elected membership to the Legislative Councils in British West Africa, and recent arrangements for the larger authority of native chiefs and the recognition of tribal customs in native affairs.

Furthermore, government campaigns for health, hygiene and sanitation are now based on a larger conception of human welfare. The object is not merely the protection of Europeans nor even the elimination of disease. The purpose is the healthful increase of native population and the building up of a virile citizenship.

Possibly more important than all else, as an indication of sound governmental attitude, is the determination to adopt British standards in the selection of government servants. It can be confidently asserted that the British administrators are, as a class, among the finest men in the world. The attainment of these

standards of service by other governments would be the best possible guarantee for the future of Africa.

Illustrations of government attitudes are unhappily not universally favorable. We cannot be indifferent to the recent action to establish the color bar in South Africa; nor to the willingness of certain governments to be indifferent to various forms of forced labor; nor to the discouragement of the native languages in government schools; nor to the failure of certain governments to make adequate appropriations for the education of the native people. While the number of governments against which these injustices and failures may be charged is not large, it is sufficient to mar government record. Civilization cannot afford to be indifferent to such injustices. There must be a determined protest until justice prevails.

Besides the attitude of governments there is, second, the attitude of economic agencies. We can no longer class the agents of commerce, industry and agriculture as the "despised traders" of pioneer days. President Lowell of Harvard University has recently said that "business is the oldest of the arts and the newest of the professions." Those who go to Africa to carry on commercial industry and agriculture are our neighbors in the homelands. They partake of the morals and the morale of the business men of London, Paris, Brussels and New York, as well as of the farmers of rural Europe and America. Who shall say that their transfer to foreign

countries transforms them from useful citizens into selfish exploiters? Unfortunately there are notable instances of such transformations, but they must be classed with similar offenders of all classes in all countries.

The standards of economic activities have made notable improvement within the last few years. There is a new statesmanship in business which recognizes the essential importance of all that relates to the country and the people. The trader who was formerly interested only in the importation of goods of little value now understands that exports are equally important, if not more so. Commerce is learning that the power to purchase depends on the ability to produce; that the power to produce is rooted in the general welfare of the people as a whole. Thus are the methods of foreign economic exchange being transformed from the artificial and superficial draining of resources and people to the policy of full development that makes for permanent welfare.

These new and happier attitudes of business are by no means as general as they should be. Evidences of selfish exploitation are still too numerous. A notable example seems to be that of the alliance of the Labor party in South Africa with the reactionary forces to impose a color bar against the native workers. It is to be hoped that such ebbs in the tide of progress will soon be turned by a more real democracy that will not tolerate class based merely on

color. But a new day has undoubtedly dawned. Better standards of labor and economic exchange in the homelands are gradually asserting themselves on behalf of the African.

Among the significant illustrations of helpful economic provisions and attitudes the following should be enumerated:

Settlers' schools for natives in Kenya; recreation centers maintained at a large cost in the Johannesburg native compounds; hygienic provisions for the housing of natives in the Katanga copper works; and workers' schools on the Congo railways. Probably more important than all other contributions of economic agents are the months and years spent in the training of native workers in commerce, industry and agriculture. Much credit is due to Europeans and Asiatics under whose direction natives have been "learning by doing" many important lessons of civilization.

We cannot close our consideration of new economic influences in Africa without referring to the tremendous potentialities of the great East African plateaus, extending with their rift valleys, lakes and magnificent mountains from the Red Sea down to the Cape of Good Hope. Such areas, capable of habitation and cultivation by people from the temperate zones, will inevitably attract a migration of varied populations that may change the whole character of Africa and Africans. Already there are more than a million and

a half of Europeans in South Africa, over 30,000 in the Rhodesias, and upwards of 10,000 in Kenya. Well may we ask whether these are the forerunners of Europeanized plains and plateaus that shall extend the whole length of East Africa and transform the future of the continent for good or for ill. There are signs that this may soon be the central problem. Its ramifications for Africa and for the world surpass the powers of imagination.

The attitude of missions is the third great factor with governments and economic agencies. Mission policies reflect new attitudes of missionaries in every part of Africa. With genuine appreciation of missionary endeavors in the past, we can confidently assert that recent years have witnessed striking improvements. The reality of spiritual power and willingness to sacrifice remain, but a new and richer meaning is now given to the message which they spread. For lack of space and because others can present the changes more effectively, I can here only mention some of the more significant of these newer attitudes of missions that are increasing in strength.

First of all is the clearer understanding and appreciation of native capacity and customs. There is less of pity and more of respect for the Africans and for their past. There is a greater willingness to work with rather than for the people. Recognition of these changes in mission policies must not be understood as lack of appreciation of the missionaries of the past;

all who know missions must testify that missionaries were the first to share their lives with the primitive peoples of Africa. They dwelt among them, they learned their languages, they felt their sorrows, and were happy in their joys. But today there is evident a scientific quality, manifested by researches into native agriculture, native traditions and native life.

Another change of importance in missionary attitude is the widened conception of the gospel. Services formerly rendered merely as incidents to the mission program are now regarded as central and vital. The ministry of health is no longer merely a bait to attract the heathen people to hear the gospel of love. The body as the temple of the Holy Spirit is God's gift, worthy of the most sacred services. Cultivation of the soil is not merely the source of food, but cooperation with God in his universe. Education is not limited to the three R's. It is life and religion for all. To bring life and to bring it more abundantly is now more truly than ever the desire and purpose of every missionary who really understands the Christian command.

As a natural and inevitable consequence a third attitude has followed, namely, the determination to cooperate with God's children wherever they are, whatever their color and their language, whatever their form of service, so long as the service is rendered in the spirit of Christian love. In this determination we have the harbinger of a new day, the

promise of a unity that guarantees the coming of the Kingdom of Love in Africa.

Then there is the attitude of the native people, in a sense the most arresting and vital change of all. The all-controlling sense of fear, so characteristic of primitive life, is passing. There is a new racial consciousness in every part of Africa, a new longing, an eager expectation, a desire and a determination to participate in local and in world affairs. The doctrine of self-determination has penetrated into unexpected places, whether for good or for ill. The natives of Africa will hereafter insist on giving voice to their despairs, their grievances, their hopes and their determinations. The day of passive servility is rapidly passing and we shall do well to note the change.

Finally there are international attitudes. A rapidly developing world consciousness of the African continent is coming to pass. Dense populations of Asia, of Europe, and even of the Americas are looking abroad for raw materials to feed, clothe, house and give pleasure to the ever increasing masses. Inevitably they turn to the rich storehouse of Africa with its scant populations and its great potentialities. African cocoa, African rubber, and African cotton are doubtless the forerunners of other African resources that will lure Asia, Europe and America into the heart of Africa.

But world interest is by no means limited to the thought of selfish exploitation. The power of interna-

tional altruism must of necessity include Africa within its scope. The ideals of civilization cannot tolerate the continued neglect of any considerable part of the world. This conviction is not based on mere sentiment or what has been called "wishful thinking," for we have recently witnessed concrete evidences of international concern for Africa. Possibly the most significant of these evidences is the genuine interest manifested in the mandated government of Africa. There is a watchful waiting and an anxious care as to the results of the mandated form of government that may well give courage to all of us. The imperialistic designs and desires of European governments in relation to Abyssinia have been noted throughout the civilized world. Woe be unto them whose designs are based upon the principle of selfish exploitation rather than upon standards of justice and altruism. Internationally the dark continent is surely passing into the continent of great opportunities and greater responsibilities, national and international.

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II. IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE honor of opening up the southern end of the African continent to Europeans is due to the Portuguese nation, through the discovery of the

Cape of Good Hope by Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama; but it was the Dutch who subsequently conceived the idea of colonizing the Cape. This idea had its origin in the tragic event which took place in 1648 when a Dutch ship was wrecked at Table Bay, thus forcing the crew to land and live on shore for five months. During the time while they were waiting to be picked up by other ships, "they sowed and reaped wheat and obtained plenty of beef and mutton from an aboriginal race known as the Hottentots."

These people maintained friendly relations with the newcomers, who, on their return to Holland, gave such favorable reports of the Cape and its people that the Dutch East India Company, which was formed for the purpose of trading with India, decided to take possession of Table Bay. For this purpose the Company sent out an expedition under Jan Van Riebeek, a ship's surgeon who had previously visited the Cape. His ships reached the Cape on April 6, 1652, and established a refreshment station on the shores of Table Bay. There was no intention at the time to found a Dutch colony in South Africa. "The object," we are told, "was merely to build a small fort for protection against the natives, to cultivate a large garden by means of servants of the Company, to breed hogs and poultry, to purchase cattle from the Hottentots to be kept till the arrival of the fleets, and to construct a hospital where sick men

tations. These Indians number 170,000 today and in themselves present another difficult problem in racial adjustment.

About 1870, diamonds were found at a place where now stands the town of Kimberley. This brought a great change in the life of the country. Labor was wanted at once and the Bantu were wheedled out of their lands by tempting offers of rifles, money and other attractions. Soon there were many thousands of Bantu working as laborers at Kimberley, and more thousands feverishly helping in the provision of railway communication between Cape Town and the diamond fields. In the early 'eighties gold was found in the Transvaal, and in 1886 Johannesburg was founded as a mining center.

From the 'seventies, then, South Africa rapidly became an industrial country, population increased by leaps and bounds, pastoral farming had to give way in many places to agriculture. The Bantu people were brought out in increasing numbers to serve European mines, factories, railways and farms, while their own lands became less extensive and their cattle more numerous. Today there are about 600,000 Bantu men, women and children to be found at any one time in the towns of South Africa. About thirty-five per cent of the urban population of the Union of South Africa are Bantu.

These changes were not brought about without great effects upon Bantu life. To appreciate the im-

mensity of the problem of racial relationships in South Africa today it is necessary to realize something of the nature of these effects.

It is a great mistake to think of Bantu life as primitive, simple and uneventful. The history of the Bantu has still to be pieced together, but we know enough to be able to say that they are not a people without a history. Their racial origin is still a subject of debate among anthropologists, but their tribal lore, as well as much other evidence, shows them to have emigrated originally from Central and Eastern Africa. Even as no race is "pure" to the extent of never having been infused with foreign blood, so the Bantu appear to have in their veins the blood of Indians, Arabs, and possibly of other races. The tribes vary considerably, but throughout Eastern, Central and South Africa the Bantu are sufficiently well related physically, and their social organizations closely enough identified, to reveal themselves as one race, virile, intelligent and energetic.

Their social organizations are highly developed and have well served their purpose in maintaining tribal entity. But the vitality of the race is shown not only by its warlike spirit but also by the frequency with which new groups were formed, so that today we have in Africa a remarkable number of tribal groups, each with its own well developed political and social organizations.

While these organizations are based upon animis-

tic conceptions, and their sanctions are largely ritual in their significance, the Bantu religious ideas have not been as debased as many observers have thought. One cannot here enter into a comparison of their cosmic concepts with those of primitive people like the Bushmen and the Australian "black fellows." One may, however, assert that they show considerable development of thought. Despite their superstitious belief in the power of ancestor spirits, the Bantu had a definite conception of one Supreme Being whom the Zula-Xosa speaking Bantu call *Unkulunkulu* (the Great Great One), and whom the South Chuana tribes speak of as *Modimo*. Their tribal sanctions, notwithstanding their dependence upon animism and witchcraft, showed advanced ethical ideas and gave a certain moral basis to personal conduct. Like the Nordic tribe of northern Europe, the Bantu have shown a ready response to the religious and ethical conceptions of the Christian religion. And curiously enough there is such a striking resemblance between Jewish laws, traditions and customs and those of the Bantu as to cause much speculation as to the possibility of there having been some direct contact between the two systems.

The activities of the Bantu people were not merely those of a primitive people. Some of them were well versed in the art of smelting iron, and there are evidences of their having run tin, copper and gold mines. In the Transvaal are old copper mines which

were worked long before the white man came; and it is considered by some that the mines and "ruined cities" of Rhodesia were the work of Bantu peoples. Other natives were skilled in pottery, and in the manufacture of copper bracelets and other similar articles of use and adornment, while others again were traders.

The political organizations were also well developed, and these have been found most useful to the European ruler as a means of controlling the people. Among the southern Bantu the chief was not an absolute autocrat. The tribal council always discussed tribal matters, and rarely except in the case of an occasional tyrant did the chief overrule its findings. Even when the council had deliberated and come to a decision, the people as a whole were called together to hear the decision, and even their objections were heard.

The chief was the father of all the people. He was also the head of a hierarchy, every part of which was defined in terms of privileges and responsibilities. Again, the legal system of the Bantu was clearly defined and organic. Responsibility before the whole life of the tribe was embraced.

Bantu life, then, was like a delicately patterned and intricate organism, sensitive to every touch and responding to the social need. Every section of the mosaic—the individual, the family, and the clan, the head of the family and the chief—had an ap-

pointed place; every part of the pattern, whether religious, political, military, social, or legal, fitted into the whole.

Into all this there overflowed the manifold influences of European civilization, destroying the connecting filaments, tearing away portions of the pattern, and breaking up the tribal entity. The old tribal restraints were no longer sufficient to control the individual as part of the tribe, for the individual no longer belonged to the tribe.

There are many who deplore the break-up of the tribal life, but it was inevitable. The clash between European civilization and Bantu life was a clash between the idea of progress and the power of custom and tradition; between a civilization based upon the emancipation of the individual and a civilization in which the individual was lost in the tribe.

Perhaps the most powerful of the forces of European civilization were the Christian religion, education, industry and town life; and the most devastating in its effect upon tribal control was the last. Before the work of the missionaries and educators had done more than set up a ferment in Bantu life, modern industry came to drag Bantu men by the thousands out of their accustomed life. If the church and the school had had a couple of hundred years more to leaven the whole, it would probably have been possible to transmute Bantu organizations, with their animistic associations, into Christian institutions

which would have allowed their tribal power to remain intact while the individual was liberated. But it is vain to imagine that Christianity and education could make the individual anything but a rebel against institutions based upon animism and witchcraft. Fortunately for Europe, the native institutions there were taken over by the Christian church. In South Africa this was rendered impossible by the rapidity with which industry entered in the wake of the missionary and the teacher and disrupted Bantu life.

The wholesale transfer of the Bantu males, followed naturally by their womenfolk, brought them into the most intimate contact with other peoples, and their education proceeded swiftly. Many never returned to their homes, while those who did return found they had outgrown the old traditional ways.

Tribal life is fast decaying. While the white government is now trying to retain something of the power of the chiefs by specific legislation, the old tribal control, the influence of the chief, his councillors and tribal opinion, is giving way to the personal influence of strong leaders. Meanwhile the Bantu people are struggling in a whirlpool. The old religious ideas are crumbling, social ties have been severed, economic arrangements have broken down. The people find the rock of Christian teaching difficult to grip, European social sanctions difficult to observe, and no definite place fixed for them in the

new economic system. Is it any wonder they sink back in despair? If ever a people needed a message of hope, leaders they could trust, and a sight of the Promised Land, the Bantu need these today.

When the Bantu met the European settlers near the Great Fish River, their southern migration came practically to an end. For many years the Bantu had suffered severely from the tyranny of a few of their kings, whose military powers enabled them to sweep vast areas bare of people. Chaka, the Zulu king, in the southeast, and Umsilikatse in the central northern plains, destroyed hundreds of thousands of persons, and there were constant flights, to and fro, of whole tribes. As the whites pushed outwards there were frequent wars with them. It was not until about sixty years ago—and much less than that in many cases—that the Bantu people were able to settle down to the ways of peace and to the permanent occupation of their lands.

British rule in the Cape succeeded in fixing fairly well the limits of white expansion in that colony, so that we have today a considerable area on the eastern side, predominantly Bantu and known as the Transkei (the Kei being the dividing river), which is administered under a special form of government that includes a council representative of the people. On the western side of the Kei the European and Bantu farmers are intermingled, and here also there is a fairly large Bantu population.

The Dutch settlers as they trekked northwards occupied the lands for themselves. They either pushed the Bantu occupiers into Reserves—narrowly defined areas—or they allowed them to remain as squatters, rendering service to the European farmer in return for the "right" to live on the farm. Thus we find in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal that the Bantu people are living either in well-defined areas as communal occupiers, or else on European farms as squatters. A small number are employed as paid laborers on the farms, earning about twenty shillings per month, about five dollars. In Natal a similar process of occupation took place; but the British government undertook to maintain the integrity of a considerable territory, known as Zululand, for the sole ownership of the Zulu people. It is unfortunately true that even of this "guaranteed" area European farmers have secured considerable slices.

There are approximately four and a half million Bantu distributed over the Union of South Africa today. Seven out of every eight still live in rural areas. Europeans own four-fifths of the land. Almost half of these four and a half million Bantu are to be found on farms which are mostly European-owned.

The story of the land in South Africa is neither a short one nor a pleasant one, and we must here be content with a plain tale. The Bantu are a land-hungry people. Their cattle have increased since the

cessation of wars, but the restriction of their land during the nineteenth century came so suddenly that they were unprepared, and even yet they have not become an agricultural people beyond what the barest of necessities requires. Until 1913 they were free to purchase and lease land as they wished, or at least as they could persuade Europeans to let them have it. They were, until then, in increasing numbers going on European lands on the share basis; that is, they would farm their piece of a farm and give the owner half of the crops.

But for years there had grown up among the white farmers a fear lest the Bantu should procure the best lands by purchase, or lest the practice of the share plan should make the white folk more than ever disinclined to do their own farming. They still wished to have the "Kafir labor," but it must be dependent and servile. The tradition of slavery made it unthinkable that the Bantu should be permitted to become an independent, prosperous peasantry.

And so in 1913 a law was passed, known as the Natives' Land Act, to prevent European and Bantu entering into mutual contracts of sale or of leased land, and making provision for the setting aside later of areas in which the Bantu could purchase or lease land. One of the immediate effects of the law was the ejection of hundreds of Bantu families from European lands, and most of them lost cattle and many of them lost children in their search for homes.

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The vast majority of the families finally settled in the towns.

Every attempt so far made to set aside further areas for Bantu occupation has failed because the European farmers are determined that the Bantu shall not have more land, and the present Prime Minister's Land Bill, which is a pale-faced effort to find land which the Bantu may buy in competition with the Europeans, is also likely to fail. And so, since there is little prospect of the Bantu finding more land, it will be necessary to turn to the consideration of other means of providing for the future of the Bantu people.

The findings of commissions and other investigating bodies go to prove that the land at present available to the Bantu for ownership is not adequate, for those living in the Reserves and their descendants, even for the next two or three generations. What about the three-sevenths of the Bantu on European lands? Today few of these have any legal or economic status. They occupy their lands at the whim of the owner, and may at any time on ninety days' notice be turned off. What progress is possible where there is no security? These landworkers are as near as can be to serfdom, and the greatest task before the friends of the Bantu is to secure for them the right to become tenant farmers or paid workers on European lands. Not until they are free to contract for their own labor will it be possible to raise these

unfortunate people to the status of a self-respecting, industrious, progressive and prosperous peasantry. It may be necessary to acquiesce for the time being in the separation of European and Bantu as landowners, but there is no justification for the prohibition of leasing rights to these landworkers. They must be given a ladder of hope the rungs of which shall be adequate wages for labor, facilities for renting land with legal protection during the tenancy and with compensation for improvements, and opportunities for the purchase of land.

The restriction of Bantu land ownership and the consequent congestion of population into areas in which pastoral farming has scarcely emerged into agricultural development, have resulted in the necessity for large numbers to find means of subsistence outside the Reserves. Fortunately, until very recently industry both in mining and manufacture was able to offer employment to those who sought work. In some Reserves fully half of the able-bodied men were always away in the European towns augmenting the family income. The economic expansion of South Africa has been made possible by the help of Bantu laborers, who are noted for their willingness, cheerful obedience and good humor. Nowhere in the world are to be found more docile workers if they are treated justly. Their wage is not large, about two shillings a day, while the wage of the white skilled worker is from ten to fifteen times as large.

But even in this sphere the path of progress is being blocked, as will be seen in a further section of this article.

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Nothing has reflected more honor upon European civilization than the eagerness and enthusiasm with which European nations have sought to share with less favored races the beneficent influences of the Christian religion and the civilizing agencies of education. Neither the nobility of his Christian ideals nor his remarkable achievements in the conquest of fresh fields of knowledge and of the unknown forces of nature, throws as much credit upon the white man as his self-sacrificing determination that others shall share these benefits. The history of South Africa is strewn with noble records of missionary and educational endeavor in behalf of Hottentot and Bantu. Missionary zeal has often brought the standard bearers of Christianity into conflict with those who sought only the political and economic dominance of the white man, and perhaps at times this zeal gave out more heat than light. But it is a truism to say that without the elevating influence of the missionary upon the Bantu, South Africa could not have experienced peace and quietness enough to progress as she has done. For a generation now all the strife, with one or two exceptions, has been among members of the white race.

The Bantu people are being Christianized, al-

though not as swiftly as many would wish. About one-third of the people are professing Christians, and these form the progressive element in the population. As mentioned earlier, the Bantu quickly assimilated the doctrines of the Christian religion and are appreciative of Christian ethical values. Missionary records are full of instances of Bantu men and women whose lives have witnessed to their Christian ideals; who have sacrificed themselves in the cause of truth; who have shown all the attributes of character—honesty of purpose, loyalty in adversity, purity of life, and personal integrity—which we associate with members of the civilized races.

Out of missionary efforts there are now emerging native Bantu churches. Some of these churches have been established as part of the missionary policy—the encouragement of self-development and independence; others are the products of revolt against European ecclesiastical control; others again, as amongst Europeans themselves, have been founded as commercial ventures. But there can be no question that the Bantu, like the Indians and Chinese, are not going to be content much longer to accept the inferior positions in European ecclesiastical hierarchies. The refusal of white church-folk to allow non-Europeans to worship with them, and to accept the rule and administration of non-European clergy, is driving the Bantu and their colored brethren to demand their

own religious organizations free of European control.

The history of the establishment and development of Bantu education requires more space than can be given in this article; and all that one can hope to do is to indicate the extent to which the educational net has been spread over the juvenile Bantu population and the direction which educational policy is taking.

The burden of Bantu education has always fallen upon the missionary bodies and upon the parents of students, but in recent years the government has assumed more and more financial responsibility, so that today practically the whole of the teaching force in Bantu schools is paid by the government. But the Bantu people contribute their full share of the taxation from which the necessary funds are obtained; and in 1926 a new law, consolidating Bantu taxation, definitely established the principle of applying some of the proceeds to the development of education. Today there are 250,000 Bantu children receiving education and the number is increasing steadily.

In recent years Bantu education has been organized as a separate part of the educational system, and attempts have been made to bring the curriculum into closer relation with the conditions of Bantu life. Differences in language, in habits of life, and the big gulf which exists between uncivilized life in the kraals (homes) and the atmosphere in the classroom,

make difficult this very necessary adjustment. But progress is being made; the standard of the work is steadily rising; the character and training of Bantu teachers are being improved; more and more of the students come from civilized homes where the parents are themselves the products of church and school. Altogether the educational outlook is more hopeful than it has ever been.

While there is progress in both church and school, there is confusion and strife outside. The restrictions of the Natives' Land Act; the increasing population in the Reserves; the growing necessity of finding employment outside these areas; the increase in the number of the civilized and educated Bantu, with consequent growing social needs—all these and other causes are driving the Bantu into the towns where perforce he must find employment. Originally welcomed as an excellent unskilled worker, he has proved himself capable of greater things, particularly when he has received adequate preliminary training. During the past ten years or so employers have found that the Bantu has a special flair for mechanical occupations. On the docks of our harbors he has no equal as a winch-winder, while in the mines he has shown himself as skilful as and more industrious than the "poor whites," who have in recent years come in from the rural areas to seek employment as miners. As a messenger and general handy-man he has proved himself trustworthy and obedient. And

so one might go through many other occupations and find witness that he has become a serious competitor of the semi-skilled white worker.

It is just here that the Bantu has, for the moment, met his Waterloo. So long as he was content to be a mine-boy, *pastore*, teacher in the schools, kitchen-boy, and even a lawyer or doctor practising among his own people, the white worker took little notice of him and cared less what he earned, being himself content to "ride on the back" of the Bantu unskilled worker by drawing at least ten times the burden-bearer's low wages. But with the depression which followed the recent peace there came a scramble for jobs, and when it was realized how considerably the Bantu people had penetrated into other occupations, there arose a cry about protecting the whites. From the uproar came a desperate strike and revolt in the gold-mining areas, in 1922, to compel the mines to employ fewer Bantu and more Europeans. Neither the strike nor the revolt was successful, but in 1924 the general parliamentary election brought to power the Dutch nationalists, pledged, among other things, to fight for the Dutch "poor whites," and the English Labor Party, pledged to protect "civilized," i.e., white labor. About this time a judgment of the Supreme Court of South Africa declared as *ultra vires* mining safety regulations which prevented Bantu and Indians from obtaining competency certificates. The fat was in the fire and the govern-

ment determined not merely to legalize the regulations but also to secure powers to introduce a color bar into all skilled occupations. The measure was opposed by Bantu organizations and by many Europeans, including the opposition party in Parliament. After dramatic debates the measure became law in 1926, but so far the government has not ventured to make use of the powers it secured.

At the same time the government has been displacing non-European labor on the state railways and in other state departments on the specious plea that only "civilized" labor should be employed. In every case the term civilized has been interpreted as synonymous with white or colored—i.e., mulatto—labor; for because of their number, their voting strength, their habits of life and their Dutch nationality, the present government has driven a wedge between black and colored and awarded the mulatto section the dignity of being civilized for political and industrial purposes.

But there are signs that even the white trade unions are becoming conscious of the iniquity of a color bar in industry. It is more than likely that in the coming years they will realize that economic laws know no color bar, and that the wisest way of protecting white civilization in South Africa is to bring all non-Europeans within the influence of that civilization, giving them facilities for education, training, and economic progress as workers, thus putting the bar below, to

protect the bottom dog, and not above to thwart him in his upward struggle.

The principle which protects the political and legal status of the Negro in the United States is enshrined in the American Constitution, and it is the rock upon which all efforts to deny him political, legal and economic rights must in the end break. The Bantu in the old Cape Colony used to think that their status as citizens was protected by the Letters Patent under which the late Queen Victoria gave a constitution to the Cape Colony. In 1854 the law which established the franchise there made no distinction between European and non-European, and so long as the Cape Colony remained a separate colony in South Africa there was no likelihood of the citizen right being withdrawn. No part of South Africa was so contented and law abiding as the Cape Colony, and the Bantu people were proud of their citizenship, loud in their praise of British rule, and revered the name of Queen Victoria.

Over the borders in the other territories—the two Dutch republics and the colony of Natal—the Europeans alone had citizen rights, although in Natal franchise rights had been extended to the Bantu but under such prohibitive conditions that not more than two natives were ever enrolled on the voters' register.

When all these territories were united in 1910 and became the Union of South Africa, there was a great struggle over franchise rights; but the Cape Colony

representatives succeeded in maintaining the common franchise in that area, on the understanding that they would not press for its extension beyond their own province. To induce the incorporation of the Cape Colony into the Union, clauses were inserted in the constitution especially protecting these franchise rights, but introducing for the first time, in so far as the Cape was concerned, a bar against non-Europeans becoming members of the legislature.

The significance of the franchise rights of the Bantu in the Cape was made clear when the repressive Natives' Land Act of 1913 was declared by the Supreme Court to be inoperative in the Cape because it would have prevented the Bantu people from acquiring citizenship through the property qualifications. Is it any wonder that any proposal to withdraw the franchise from the Bantu is regarded as a threatened loss, not only of political citizenship but also of legal and economic status?

And so South Africa is faced with a racial issue of the first magnitude by the bill which the Prime Minister has presented to Parliament to disenfranchise the Cape Bantu, and to provide that the Bantu people as a whole (four and a half million as against one and a half million whites) shall be represented in Parliament by seven European members, in a legislature of a hundred and thirty members, to be elected by voters "designated" by the government of the day. The proposals are so outrageous that a large number

of European as well as non-European organizations are prepared to oppose them to the bitter end. What that end will be no one dares to prophesy now, but if the measure is passed it will create great racial bitterness.

There exist two conflicting policies in South Africa in regard to the Bantu. The one, probably the more popular at the moment, is the policy of differentiation. This policy regards the Bantu as a people apart, to be legislated for separately and specifically, to be kept within their Reserves except in so far as white people need their services, and to be given considerable powers of self-government. The slogan of this policy is, "Let the Bantu develop in their own areas and along their own lines."

Opposed to this is the policy of identity, which holds that the state is one whose security depends upon the extent to which the various elements in the population can be welded into a common citizenship, however different and unequal may be their peculiar contribution to the common weal. To separate these sections from the common life, to encourage them, through separate franchise arrangements and color bars, to regard their interests as distinct from, and perhaps opposed to, those of the other sections, is held to be the gravest injury that can threaten the unity of the state as a whole. To think that there can be two or more civilizations within one democratic nation without conflict is to ignore political his-

tory; while to turn the Bantu people out of the privileges of modern civilization on the specious plea of helping them "to develop along their own lines," is to turn them into the outer darkness of animism and witchcraft and to drive them into that desperation which gives birth to anarchy and bloodshed.

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The spread of knowledge has created a class of educated men and women who are becoming more and more divorced from tribal conditions. Some of these men and women live in the urban areas, while others still live among the people. We have ministers of religion, schoolmasters, a few men in the medical and legal professions; but a large number are found in our industrial cities, employed in every department of life. There is a small but increasing number of men who are striving for an independent existence. Some of them have started businesses of their own. Others are editors and proprietors of weekly newspapers whose columns are devoted to the furtherance of the cause of their race. They are all struggling against great odds to secure a respectable place for the Bantu people in the national life of South Africa. Realizing that to secure such a place united action was necessary, they organized political associations all over the country. But soon after the consummation of union the need for a single organization, composed of the existing ones, was keenly felt. The insertion

of the color-bar clause in the Act of Union opened their eyes and awakened them to the fact that white South Africa was determined to keep the Bantu people in a state of perpetual serfdom. Consequently in 1912, immediately before the enactment of the Natives' Land Act, a convention of representative men and chiefs was held in Bloemfontein to consider the question of Bantu unity. The outcome of the convention was the formation of what is known today as the African National Congress. Some of the objects of this organization are:

(1) To effect unity among the various tribes of the Bantu race by breaking down tribal barriers; (2) to educate public opinion on matters affecting the political, land and economic conditions of the people; (3) to encourage the spread of knowledge among the people by means of education; (4) to be the channel of communication between the government and the people; and (5) to cooperate with all societies and individuals interested in the welfare of the Bantu people.

This association is the most powerful of Bantu political organizations. It has branches all over the Union. Although most of the chiefs are not active members and appear to be indifferent, nevertheless they are in sympathy with its objects and the efforts of its leaders to ameliorate the condition of their peoples. Whether they like it or not, the chiefs are bound to acknowledge sooner or later the leadership of the

intellectuals. For this leadership is slowly but surely gaining ground. Its stronghold is in the towns, where it wields an influence among both the progressive and the tribal members of the race. Unlike that of the chiefs, it is a power able to voice the feelings of the people, to present their case before the authorities, and to point the way of salvation. True, it has not succeeded in securing the support of all the peoples, but it has made the intelligent black man think in terms of the race as a whole and not of separate tribes.

It is often alleged by many Europeans, including some of the best friends of the natives, that the educated natives are out of touch with their uneducated brethren, and that their views and actions are not representative of the views of the masses. This statement is misleading. The educated men of the Bantu race have not lost touch with the people. Like the educated of any race, they have certainly constituted themselves as leaders. It is true that they are a minority, but they are a minority with which white South Africa has to reckon. They are the spokesmen of their inarticulate people. They have their faults, no doubt, but these faults cannot overshadow their efforts to bring about Bantu unity, to foster the spirit of race-consciousness, and to educate public opinion on the needs and aspirations of their race. Their sins of omission and commission are due to their lack of proper training for leadership. If at

times they appear violent and bitter against the white man's rule it is not because they have any inherent hatred of the white race, but because they feel that their people are not given a square deal and are treated like aliens in the land of their forefathers.

What native Africans want is not social mixture with the whites but equal opportunities in the fields of industry and commerce. When they see their people economically losing ground and gradually coming to the border-line of starvation, they often lose the power of self-control and use violent language in an endeavor to force the attention of the authorities. In consequence they have been stigmatized as demagogues and agitators. That there are firebrands and radicals among Bantu leaders no sane man can deny. But what is surprising is that in view of the disabilities under which the Bantu people labor, we have so far produced only agitators and not out-and-out Bolsheviks. True, there are men who preach the doctrine of "Africa for the Africans" in response to the cry of "A White South Africa," whereby it will be seen that Bantu leaders are being driven to radicalism by the extremism of white demagogues, among whom there are men of standing. For if it is extreme on the part of natives to claim Africa for the Africans, it is certainly extreme on the part of the white man to claim it for the white men. These radical leaders have at present a large following, because a program of

non-cooperation with the whites and of "Africa for the Africans" appeals to the ignorant masses.

There is, however, another school of thought which has recently come into existence. This school believes that the path of Bantu progress lies along the lines of cooperation between white and black. Among its leaders are such men as Professor D. D. Tengo Jabavu, Rev. John L. Dube, Dr. S. M. Molema, Messrs. M. Pelem, Sol. T. Plaatje, H. Selby-Msimang and others. These men have no organized following, but their influence is being felt among the people. Some of them are associated with such interracial organizations as the Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives and Native Welfare Societies. For preaching the gospel of interracial understanding and harmony they have incurred the stigma of being called "good boys" by the radical leaders. In spite of the attacks upon them these men are doing noble work for South Africa. Their program is to build a bridge across the color line, to create an atmosphere of good will so that the two races may work together harmoniously for the peace and prosperity of the country. They feel also that at this stage of their development the Bantu people need the guidance and leadership of the white race.

The political and economic outlook of the Bantu is admittedly dark at the present time, but what is encouraging is that in this darkest hour many white men and women have proved themselves champions

of human liberty and freedom. It is as if the anti-Bantu legislation which has disgraced the statute books of this country since the consummation of union, has stirred the hearts of men to the depths. Our opinion is that the conscience of white South Africa is awakening, and that no longer can injustice be perpetrated upon any section of our population without vigorous protest being aroused. Gradually it is dawning on the whites that their civilization cannot flourish in the midst of an overwhelming barbarism.

Today South Africa is at the crossroads of decision. Upon the ultimate issue of the present political and economic struggles depend racial peace and the mutual advancement of all sections of the people. Much depends upon the faith and courage of those European and Bantu who are laboring for justice, good will and racial cooperation, believing that victory has always attended those who have endured to the end.

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III. IN EAST AFRICA

The area with which this section deals is under British control, with the exception of Portuguese East Africa. The territories are as follows:

Name	*Sq. Miles*	*Europeans*	*Asiatics*	*Africans*
Northern Rhodesia	290,000	3,634	....	980,000
Nyasaland	40,000	1,486	563	1,200,000
Kenya	245,060	12,500	26,729	2,495,065
Zanzibar	1,020	270	13,855	186,187
Uganda	94,000	1,269	5,600	3,000,000
Tanganyika	365,000	2,447	15,000	4,107,000
Totals	1,035,080	21,606	61,747	11,968,252

All these territories were brought under the rule of England and Germany between the years 1880 and 1900, Tanganyika passing to Britain under the mandate system after the Great War. Since 1900 the various governments have been able to strengthen their positions and make administration more effective, the only areas where control is weak being along the northern frontier of Kenya and Uganda. Before the advent of the Western nations conditions of African life in these territories were such as to fill David Livingstone with the most profound pity, called out mainly by the terrible iniquities of the slave trade. Commerce in the modern sense of that term was practically unknown. Tribe was divided against tribe, roads were non-existent, diseases were rampant and were unalleviated save by the feeble efforts of the medicine men, or by the incantations and suggestions of the faith-healing, sacrificial system associated with the cult of ancestor propitiation. Witchcraft held whole populations in thrall. Justice, owing to the bribery which was rampant, was not impartially administered. When a chief died the tribe

was as likely as not to become the scene of partisan strife, until the strongest claimant defeated all others. Cooperation was confined to interests within the tribal area, each tribe being suspicious of its neighbor. There were none of those larger operations which are the features of later civilizations.

As the discoveries of Livingstone and Stanley opened up fresh trails to the interior, Western missionaries, in response to their appeals, entered the newly opened territories. Following hard upon their heels went commerce in the form of chartered companies, of which the African Lakes Company and the Imperial British East Africa Company were outstanding examples. These companies did not last long, and the areas which they held were ultimately taken over by the Crown and administered as protectorates. One of these, the East Africa protectorate, is now the colony of Kenya.

As can be imagined, there were very many problems to be faced by the administrations, all very closely interrelated, and needing to be tackled without delay. Roads had to be cut through, railways built, taxes imposed, revenues collected, departments on lands set up, justice administered, diseases controlled, police brought into being, commerce initiated and developed, and the many tribes welded into one system of administration. While each nation, German or British, was free to develop its own institutions, certain general rules had been laid down for

application to all territories. One of these forbade the importation of intoxicants for the consumption of natives, thus averting from the East Coast a nefarious traffic with which the West Coast is cursed.

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The condition of affairs in East Africa today is largely the result of the impact of a highly civilized people upon primitive races. There are, of course, some aspects of native life which have hardly begun to yield to this influence, such as conceptions of witchcraft, polygamy, the clan system of tribal life, and ideas of land tenure. In other directions, however, the effects of the white man's presence are marked. Within each separate protectorate tribes once isolated from each other now have free communication, and there is intercourse even from one protectorate to another. People who, before the advent of the European, never grew more crops than were necessary to feed themselves are now cultivating additional crops for export, coming into the world markets and buying the products of the West with the proceeds. To care for imports and exports railways and harbors have been built. In order that exports may be graded up, agricultural departments have distributed better seed, and have given the instruction needed when crops new to the native were introduced. Motors from America now convey African chiefs on their journeyings, and hands across the seas are making the cloth, the lamps, the boots and other

products which the African is beginning to demand.

In opening up East Africa to trade the white men also opened it up to disease. Old diseases once isolated in separate tribes have now clear lines of communication. Thus did sleeping sickness gain access to Uganda, destroying between two and three hundred thousand human beings before it was brought under control. Thus too have those pests, the jiggers, spread across the continent. Governments have been alive to the need for all that medical skill can do to combat disease, and in all areas the various medical departments are doing notable work. It is the medical profession which will rid East Africa, as it rid Europe, of the scourge of witchcraft. In training Africans in medical work the government and missions also train them in the development of that personal character without which the best work cannot be done.

Equally notable has been the contribution made through education. This has been the peculiar contribution of missions, for there was so much to be done by governments on other essential lines that they were glad to leave to missions this self-appointed task. The first thing to be done was to reduce the languages to writing, for outside of the Arabic or Swahili of the dominions of Zanzibar none of the tribes were civilized enough to have a written language. This was not an altogether bad thing, for we were able to give to all the tribes the blessing of a common character-letter. Compare the character of the Chinese with that of the Roman, and it will be realized what

time, trouble and expense are saved by use of the Roman character.

All that education has meant for the West we intend to make it mean for East Africa. Naturally it will take time, but the feet of many are already set on the rungs of the ladder. In village schools and on the farms of settlers the process is being initiated or developed, whilst in the recently founded (1926) high school at Kikuyu, and in the Budu School and the Government College at Makerere, Uganda, as high an education is given as most of those able to attend are ready for. A few former students are sons of chiefs, who have gone on to Ceylon, England, or America for advanced work.

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Thus far only the benefits which have come to East Africa from the missionary's occupation have been touched upon. Any treatment of East Africa would not be adequate which failed to note the reverse side of the shield.

In the kingdom of Uganda the peasants allege that under the Treaty of 1900 made with Great Britain, the chiefs have filched their lands for the last twenty years. In Tore and Ankle, kingdoms in the Uganda protectorate, the land settlements under the treaties have been challenged by the native rulers as unjust. In Kenya Colony there has been the gravest unrest amongst certain of the tribes who

maintain that much of their land has been taken from them and given to Europeans. The effect of the Crown Land Ordinance of 1915 of Kenya Colony has been to make all Africans living on their own tribal lands "tenants at will of the Crown." It is highly likely that fresh legislation will be introduced to ease the present situation for the Africans. Without this, indeed, there can be no peace.

With regard to the rights of native labor, controversy has waged long and stubbornly. Formerly the only way to get labor was to persuade or force the tribal chief to order out the tribesmen. Labor for wages was a new thing in many of the tribes, and the man who engaged himself for wages always first obtained the approval of his chief. Little by little this system, which was imposed upon the would-be employer of labor by the very constitution of tribal society, grew into an abuse, for as new Europeans came into the country and inquired of the old residents how to secure a labor supply, they were at once advised to apply to authority, and the men they wanted were sure to be available.

Happily, forced labor for private employers is now a thing of the past, but a new form of compulsion is arising, this time not by direct order of authority, African or European, but by pressure of opinion. If a European goes to East Africa uninvited by Africans, gets land, but not from Africans, and engages in coffee planting or maize growing,

does this impose upon Africans a moral duty to supply him with the labor he needs? The white man thinks it does. One of the most disturbing elements of life in East Africa as reflected in the local press is the marked exasperation of those who want African laborers and cannot get them. And yet to attempt to persuade an ignorant African that there lies upon him the moral duty to supply all and sundry with laborers in the cause of private enterprise is on the face of it a subversion of his liberty and rights.

The wages paid to laborers in Africa are altogether out of keeping with those paid in civilized countries. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the quality of labor is below Western standards. When, however, allowance has been made for this, it still remains a fact that labor in East Africa is underpaid. Throughout large areas two and a half to three shillings a week, plus food, constitutes the average wage of the manual worker. Employers say they cannot pay more. It would seem that someone is exploiting native labor, and that the responsibility for this must lie somewhere between the consumer overseas and the employer in East Africa.

In the days of the early travelers through tropical Africa it was Africans who taxed the Europeans. Every white man had to pay *hongo*, or tax, and it was a most vexatious business, for it was done according to no rule except such as the rapacity of the chief might lay down. Now it is the African who pays tax

to the European. Just as in civilized countries, in Africa every tax year is bound to produce a certain number of people with grievances, whatever the rate of tax may be. Quite apart from questions of oppression in methods of collection, there is the much graver question of whether or not the African receives adequate return for the taxes he pays. In Uganda it is alleged that cotton-growing areas are developed partly by proceeds from taxable areas where cotton is not grown. In Kenya it is said by many that native Reserves have been neglected in order that European areas might have more money spent on improving them. Owing to the difficulty of sorting out revenue from customs, it is not easy to arrive at a judgment supported by figures as to the amount of indirect revenue contributed by white and black respectively. On the other hand, it is possible to take certain administrative units, find out the revenue received from direct taxation, compare this with the expenditure on services, and so learn with a fair degree of accuracy how apportionments have been made. There obviously has been great inequality of treatment, not only as between native areas and European areas but as between one native area and another.

Thirty years ago all the tribes throughout Kenya and Uganda were free people, under subjection to no foreigner, though some of them were often raided by their more powerful neighbors. For example,

the Nasai and Baganda spread the terror of their name far and wide. Along the line of the slave trade the Arabs also have spread fear and hate, but their control was sporadic and they were at all times liable to be met with a resistance which testified to the spirit of freedom. Today the dominant fact that burdens the consciousness of every native in East Africa is that of his subjection. Within the lifetime of many, these people have passed from the position of a free race to that of a subject race. And they do not like it. Possibly the feeling is less in Uganda than in other places. There the old native rulers were able to make better terms with the oncoming Europeans, though even in Uganda, where subjection to their own despotic rulers had prepared the people for subjection to European rule, one still finds the majority of the people laboring under a grievous subjection complex. While the rising generation of Africans appreciates the many benefits which Europeans have brought to them, it is all too true that they are and will remain profoundly dissatisfied until they have the consciousness that they are free people, working out their own salvation, in the fullest cooperation with but not in subjection to those who are now their rulers.

Africans are finding out that Western religious sects make for a new intolerance in tribal life which is destructive of unity at a time when unity is more to be desired than ever before. Some religious leaders

unhesitatingly endeavor to isolate their converts from activities in which Africans of another sect take part. Such religious bigotry cuts clean across many cooperative movements for the common good. The policy whereby each mission stakes out an area for its evangelistic activities, resulting in what are often called spheres of ecclesiastical influence, is fraught with ill as well as good. Like their forerunners in the political world, these spheres were assigned to the various denominations without any consultation with Africans. They constitute barriers to religious Africans of one denomination in seeking to evangelize those of their own tribe over the border. There are many Africans whose spirit is in rebellion against these spheres of influence. They are challenging the moral right of missionaries to parcel out among themselves a country not their own, when such action automatically restricts the religious freedom of the natives in both thought and activity.

The attitude of superiority, which shows itself in many forms, is especially galling to many natives who, by the power of education, have lifted themselves above the common herd. They realize that they are qualified in many ways to lead and help their fellow tribesmen, but do not find that the white man is prepared to take them at their own evaluation. An offhand disregard by the foreigner of opinions expressed by any native is one of the most potent factors in bringing about that estrangement of spirit

which leads to open cleavage. The appeal of Africans today is that the treatment accorded to them as a people, by church or state, be Christianized. Nothing less than that will ever satisfy them. If we are to hold the esteem and good will of Africa, that must be our aim. Behind the desire for education which is one of the most remarkable features of African life today are three aspirations: to attain the standard required for baptism, to insure economic advancement, and to make possible a more effective independence from Europeans. It is difficult for us, perhaps, to enter into the feelings of a recently free people now held under strict subjection. We may be sure that the change has not taken place without many a palaver on the part of the village elders. They have analyzed causes and their own shortcomings. In many cases they have come to the conclusion that only by "sucking the white man's brains" can they remove the causes and remedy the defects. One African told me in simple language how the village elders took counsel together and came to the decision to send him to school, the idea being that he should report to them what he learned. As time goes on this motive gathers intensity, for the more Africans have to do with white men the more they realize their need for all that education can give.

Since the Great War there has been an interesting movement in East Africa, initiated and sustained by

the rapidly growing race consciousness. Associations of Africans have been formed and are now to be found throughout South and East Africa. Of these the British Government East Africa Commission writes:

"These native associations are largely the outcome of missionary effort, and their main support comes from the younger men who have received missionary education. So far these associations are, with one or two exceptions, in no way hostile to tribal authority or tribal organization; in fact, in many cases the chiefs are members of the association and give the association their active support. The missionaries, who have great influence with these associations, are anxious that they should not become merely political in their activities, and undoubtedly they can be used for the general benefit of the native population if they are sympathetically encouraged to take up practical work in the advancement of native industries, sanitation, child welfare, and economic activities."

One word of qualification is required with regard to the attitude of many missionaries towards these associations. These missionaries share the view held by many Europeans in East Africa, that these societies are a great potential danger and in time may develop sufficiently to challenge the existing political order. Accordingly they hold aloof from much which Africans regard as vital. But the time may come when

the African will have little use for the missionary who confines his activities to matters solely of a religious nature; I use the word religious here in its narrow sense.

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The problem of popular education today presents a wide field for activity. One important step is to extend and increase cultural interchange among the people. Many of the social and educational and therefore progressive activities of missions and governments in East Africa are seriously hampered for lack of newspapers and magazines. Unlike the languages of India or China, the language of these tribes had never, until the advent of the missionaries, been reduced to writing. Coinage was non-existent, and the chief form of wealth was cattle. This meant that until recently the native population had been without the means necessary to finance any operations where capital is necessary. One or two small monthlies are published by missionary societies, and the governments of Kenya and Tanganyika issue occasional official papers in Swahili. Naturally it is impossible in these papers, edited by Europeans for Africans, to enjoy that freedom of expression common to a free press amongst a free people. The Baganda are the most progressive of our East Africans, and have now four papers of their own. In these one finds a freedom of expression almost as great as exists in England.

Meanwhile migrations of laborers contribute greatly to the dissemination of news and ideas. Thousands of men were conscripted during the late war. Those who survived came back to their tribes with a mental horizon incomparably wider than that of those who remained at home. Since the war developments in East Africa have taken many others away from their homes to work for settlers or on various public improvements. These movements of large bodies of men are having a profound effect on the old tribal order. The community life is rapidly being broken up. Formerly the tribesmen spent their lives within the tribal area, now many of the men, accompanied in some cases by their women, roam far afield as wage-earners.

On farms and plantations, in workshops and in domestic service, new ideas are impinging upon the erstwhile tribesmen, and their thoughts have been turned into channels unknown to their fathers. When these men return to their homes the old allegiance to tribal authority is not as it was before. Even the time-honored fear of witch or wizard may have weakened. The traveled African is less inclined to take his opinions from the tribal authorities. Rather he gets them from any one of the local leaders who are springing up with astonishing rapidity throughout the whole of East Africa.

The extraordinary thing about native life today is the number of meetings that are being held all over

the country. The emerging leader is a great walker, or, it may be, cyclist; he meets a group of from half a dozen to a hundred followers here today, and tomorrow, ten, twenty or even fifty miles away he meets another group. Young Africa is beginning to produce its own leaders. Already men are emerging who are exerting an influence far beyond their own tribal boundaries. They have their policies, which chiefly concern land, labor, and taxation grievances, although thus far the policies have not met with much success. The most notable of these leaders was called Harry Thuku, of the Kikuyu tribe. His views and the character of his leadership brought him into conflict with the government, and he was exiled as a dangerous character.

As an illustration of the new independence of thought in Africa let me quote from the letter of a native African dated October 17, 1926, referring to the acute question of "spheres of missionary influence." I translate: "There was a hot discussion, some of the missionaries refusing to agree to any annulling of the spheres. But we, the people of the country, would not have it so, and when they reminded us how Peter and Paul had divided the land for the purpose of preaching, we replied that they, like us, were but human beings, and Jesus never ordered his disciples to set up spheres." This independence of thought is bound to assert itself more and more as

the years pass. It can only be met by reason, not by suppression.

So far we have not touched upon Arab or Indian influence in East Africa. The Arab influence, apart from the slave trade, has not been very great. Along the slave routes there are a certain number of converts to Islam, but where Christianity competes with it in a virgin field, Islam is routed. The religion of the Prophet cannot give Africa the education it wants, although it has secured to its people in the Dominion of the Sultan of Zanzibar the title to their lands—no mean contribution. In commerce the Arabs have developed the clove industry and the cocoanut plantations. As a creative force in modern Africa, however, the Arab influence has little contribution to make.

Not so the Indian. Both indirectly and directly the Indians have left their mark. For many years they have held undisputed sway as artisans, earning high wages as carpenters, masons, smiths, and engineers on the railway. Recently employers looked round for cheaper craftsmen, and saw in the African a possible substitute for the Indian. Accordingly they demanded that the educational policy of Kenya be directed towards the production of African artisans. This has given the schools great practical value, since they fit the African to serve not only Europeans but his own people.

In Uganda, as in Kenya, Indians have developed trade and transport. It is difficult to know what the

country could have done without them. Unfortunately racial antipathies have been aroused, resulting in one of the sharpest constitutional controversies in the short history of East Africa over the claims of Indians and of Europeans. The importance of this controversy for the African lay in the fact that the Europeans put forward the doctrine of their trusteeship for the backward tribes with such force that future policies of exploitation, whether on the part of individuals or on the part of government, cannot openly lift up their heads.

The relationship existing between the African and the Indian is wholly commercial, the latter seldom showing any philanthropic spirit toward the former. Today relationships are becoming more and more competitive, Africans seeking to oust Indians from such posts as they themselves are able to fill. Not only so, but the Indian, who for the past twenty-five years has been the petty trader in native Reserves, is now being challenged by the African, who wants to develop as a trader amongst his own folk. In spite of this rivalry, Africans do not regard Indians as having any responsibility for their subjection. The one bond between them is that they both are subject races.

It is fitting that this brief sketch of things East African should close with some notice of the movement among native women. Upon them as the mothers of Africa attention is being directed more

and more. It is part of the British policy to reduce as rapidly as possible the high infant mortality, which ranges, as far as can be ascertained in the absence of vital statistics, between 450 and 650 per 1000. One immediate need of Africa is a greater population, to the end that the maximum of production may be obtained. In Uganda there is a very successful training school in child welfare and midwifery, made possible by cooperation between the missions, the government and native Africans. Similar efforts are being initiated in all the territories.

African girls are now coming under the influence of the educational movement. Formerly their fathers refused to send them to school. Now the young men who have been to school are no longer contented with wives who are uneducated, and they are supplying the impetus which formerly was lacking. Uganda and Nyasaland are furthest advanced in the matter of girls' education, leaving Kenya and Tanganyika far behind.

The future of East Africa lies in cooperation between whites and blacks. Any other spirit or method will defeat its own end. This the black must realize equally with the white. Each needs the other, and if only the right spirit can be created and maintained, there is every reason why future relationships should be of the happiest for all.

W. E. Owen

Maseno, Kenya Colony

III

RELIGION IN NATIVE LIFE

FOR popular culture to exist at all, there must exist something more among a people than the mere means of gaining physical sustenance; there must be common beliefs and common loyalties. Every culture, then, however primitive, must provide means for developing in its members the inherent values of that culture, be these values economic, social or spiritual. This can only be done by gradually moulding each successive generation so that individuals become adapted to the needs of society as a whole, for man is not fully adapted by birth to the society in which he has to live.

In primitive societies this moulding is largely done by means of ceremonial or ritual exercises, the purpose of which is to develop and maintain the values on which the life of the society is thought to depend. By constant reiteration and exercise a number of sentiments are developed in the individual with regard to fundamental values in the society. It is obvious that these values differ from society to society, and that they are very closely correlated with the type of structure which obtains in the society. The values in a hunting community will be different from those in

an agricultural community, and the structure of the society of nomadic hunters is bound to differ from the structure of a sedentary society. In spite of these differences among groups, we find that in all of them great value is attached (a) to the society as a whole, so that deep loyalty to the group is developed; (b) to the individual members, so that each progressive advance of the individual into the heart of the society is marked by ritual; (c) to the food supply, so that all the most important sources of subsistence have ritual value; and (d) to the great environment, so that all peoples provide in some way for linking the society with the universe so far as they are able to understand it.

The links binding human beings together in society, then, are largely developed by the society itself. They are not mechanical links but spiritual links, that is, the power holding them together is a spiritual power developed and controlled in each member of the society. In other words, the real bond which holds people together and maintains the society in which they live is spiritual, and the worst offence we can commit against uncivilized peoples is to ignore their spiritual values simply because they are different from our own.

In the case of Africa, vast as is its expanse, varied as are its peoples and its cultures, it is still possible to speak of the country as one whole, for two fundamental principles determine the type of ritual prac-

tised by the people. This is true of all the peoples living south of the Sahara, but is more particularly true of the great number of peoples speaking languages associated with the Bantu family of languages, and it is of these peoples and these cultures that I am especially thinking in this chapter.

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The two principles which I believe lie at the base of the whole religion of African peoples are very different from each other and are being affected in different ways by the increasing contact of Africa with Western civilization. Without a thorough grasp of the significance of each for the culture of Africa as a whole, it is impossible for Western civilization or Christian teaching to make real headway in Africa. The first principle we may call the principle of kinship, which is the basis on which the social cohesion of African peoples rests. The second principle we may call the principle of ritual forces, which determines the attitude of the African peoples to the world around them. I do not wish it to be thought that there are no other principles of social organization or of spiritual influence, but in a general survey such as this, only fundamental principles can be dealt with, and I think it will be shown that these are indeed basic. I shall deal first with the principle of kinship.

In spite of the fact that Africa as a continent abounds with great game, few African people are pure hunters and almost all Bantu populations prac-

tise either hoe culture or a pastoral life or the two combined. Over a large part of the Congo area cattle and sheep cannot be reared, and it is here that we find people practising pure hoe culture with a background of hunting, and rearing a few domestic animals such as pigs, fowls and goats. In the northern parts of this area varieties of sorghum can be cultivated. In the west and south the populations depend on banana, palm oil, and, nowadays, manioc.

Around the great lakes we have a number of peoples who are purely pastoral. They have large herds of cattle and sheep to which they are devoted, and their whole lives center around these animals. They despise agriculture and tend to lord it over the purely agricultural populations, who live in the deep valleys below the grassy plateaus on which the herders make their homes.

Further south, and especially in southern Rhodesia and in the Union of South Africa, there are tribes which combine hoe culture and this pastoral life, but in such a way that the cattle are tended almost exclusively by the men, while the bulk of the work in connection with the fields is done by the women. In both areas, whether the pastoral people are dominating the hoe culture people or whether the two types of subsistence are merged in one, the predominant feature is the cattle, and we therefore talk of this as the cattle-complex area. Cattle play a very important part in the lives of all these people, as we shall see later.

Whatever be the basis of subsistence, however, the important thing to note is that among all these people the economic unit is the same: the individual family, the little group centering round a married woman, is the economic unit throughout this part of Africa. This is true in spite of the polygamy which is widespread, for among all these people each married woman has her own home, and with her husband—who is the connecting link with other such houses—and her children forms an independent economic community. Each such little group feeds itself, clothes itself, houses itself, and makes all such implements and utensils as it may require. This is a fact of great significance, for it means that each such group is self-contained, with few economic links binding it to other groups.

In modern civilized society practically no individual or family is self-sufficient; each is or should be contributing something to the needs of the whole. But in return each one depends on the labor of others for many of the necessaries of life. This means that in civilized society all the individuals of a culture are dependent on one another and form an interdependent whole. Quite apart from any other bonds there are these economic ties forcing us, one and all, to fulfil obligations to others lest their services be withheld if we fail. Such ties are largely lacking in African societies. On what basis, then, are people to be held together in a social community in Africa?

What is to prevent each little group from slipping away on its own? There are two universal bases of social grouping which are used, one the habitation of a common territory and the other kinship; both must obviously be present wherever human beings congregate.

The family is the fundamental group in every society, and it is of unique importance where there are so few groups not based on kinship. In the family there are three principal types of relationship set up, accompanied by three types of behavior patterns. All three are of importance in controlling the relations of people to one another, but it is more especially the third that is the subject of this paper. The three primary relationships are that of the spouses, that of parent and child, and that between the siblings, that is, between the brothers and sisters born of one set of parents. The behavior of these people to one another differs in different societies, but there are certain principles which are fundamental. The parent generation is responsible for the safety of the child generation, and for bringing it up to conform to the pattern of the society; thus it is invested with authority and responsibility. The child generation has to obey the parent generation and look to it for support; that is, it is dependent and should be obedient.

Siblings in a family are replicas one of the other, so far as the type of behavior towards them by the

parents and the society is concerned, and so far as their behavior to one another is concerned. The behavior pattern between two brothers or two sisters is reciprocal, with due attention paid to age; that is, my behavior to a brother and his behavior to me (a man) are of the same type, and my behavior to a sister and her behavior to me (a woman) are of the same type. So far as society is concerned there are differences, of course, for sex and age; but basically siblings are social multiples of one personality, the nearest things to identity that we can get in social relations. Their standing in the society and their value to the society are practically the same, so far as these depend on membership in a particular family. Thus brothers or sisters have the same type of behavior pattern towards almost everybody in their society, and can very easily be substituted for one another. We find, then, that in African societies the best substitute for a man is his brother, the best substitute for a woman is her sister, because by this substitution the social relations of all concerned are least disturbed. This is the basis of the levirate, where a brother is substituted for a brother as husband and father, thus upsetting the relationships established between the husband's group and the wife's group in the least possible way. Similarly it is the basis of the sororate, where a sister is substituted for a sister as wife and mother.

In practically all African societies it is this principle

of the identity of siblings that is used to bind a larger number of people together in social bonds, since if I stand in a certain relation to a man I stand in that same relation to all his brothers, and if I stand in a certain relation to a woman I stand in that same relation to all her sisters. If a man is my father, so also are his brothers my fathers; I call them so, and I behave to them in the same general way that I do to my own father. If a woman is my mother her sisters are also my mothers; I call them so and behave in the same general way to them as to my own mother. The children of these men and of these women are my brothers and sisters, as my own parents' children are my brothers and sisters. This is the classificatory principle which is the basis of the social organization of the African peoples we are dealing with.

At once we see that the little economic units of which we spoke are no longer as independent as they seemed; they are linked with numerous others on this principle of kinship. By using the same terms of address and the same type of behavior we would use within the family, to a large number of people outside the family, we get something of the same strong bonds established in the society. The kindred, as the people so linked are called, is a body of people held together by very real and by very intimate ties, and it is a grouping which in Africa is found north and south, east and west.

There are always kin through the father and kin

through the mother, and it is well to remember that this is a deep-rooted principle in African societies. The influence of this principle is sometimes forgotten, so that one set of kin comes to be emphasized at the expense of the other. The clan or sib is a strong group of people claiming to be intimately related either on the father's side or on the mother's but not on both; that is to say, stress is laid on one type of relationship to the exclusion of others, so that we get preference given in the clan either to the mother's people or to the father's. The clan never entirely obliterates the kinship principle which underlies it, but it is undoubtedly the most self-conscious group in Africa and also the primary religious group.

Since kinship, through descent from a common ancestor, is the basis of grouping in Africa, it is obvious that the group will be stronger the longer the line of ancestors it can count, the further it can grope back into the past for its beginnings. Indeed since people are linked together through their ancestors, it is obvious that the dead cannot be allowed to be lost to the society. They represent the past life of the clan and belong to the clan as much as do the living. All that the clan has and is, it owes to those who established it in the past. But the dead need the living, too, for they live on in the memories of those on earth, so that the life of the clan depends on holding on to the past and making secure provision for the future. It is here that we find the real princi-

ple of worship of ancestors. The cult of ancestors gives life to the kindred which it would not otherwise possess, and insures the continuity of society. This makes for social strength, for no group can be strong which does not believe in its own immortality in spite of the passing of the generations. The dead, then, are not lost to the society, they are merely initiated into another part of the society, the spiritual, unseen part; and it is a large concern of the people to maintain a perpetual relationship with this unseen world, for the well-being of the whole kindred depends on harmony being maintained between the two worlds. Here again we have the reason for the strong conservatism of the African peoples, for the clan was established far away in the past, and has been maintained in its integrity and power through faithful observation of inherited manners and customs. The ancestors do not know the new, and to inaugurate new ways is a sure method of estranging and alienating them.

The group that worships the same ancestors may be large or small. Where we find a nation like the Baganda we find a national cult of deceased kings who are considered gods of the whole people. More often we find a lesser group, the tribe, in which a number of clans recognize the seniority of one clan in which chieftainship is hereditary. In such tribes the ancestors of the chiefs are the most powerful spirits for the whole tribe, but they can only be ap-

proached through immediate descendants, so that the dependence of the African native on his chief is a very real one; it is a religious dependence, not merely a political one. Many peoples in Africa have no strong tribal unity, and there is no doubt that the really important structure is a smaller kinship group which may be the clan, or, more often, the immediate descendants of some man not long deceased, the patriarchal family, or the kin claiming a common lineage through the mother.

Day in and day out the ancestors take part in the lives of the people. There is always some spot specially set apart for them. It may be simply a bit of broken pot or a forked stick inside the hut, it may be a little shrine, as we might say, a set of stones carefully selected, with a tree growing from the center. There may be a special sacred tree or a grove of trees, or finally there may be a true tomb temple. The variations are innumerable, but always there is remembrance. And again the manner of remembrance is infinitely various. There are libations of beer and of palm wine; there are gifts of part of all that man himself acquires and uses for food; there are prayers and appeals from those in trouble; but undoubtedly the most important ritual is the full ritual of sacrifice, and it is necessary to look a little deeper into the culture to understand just what the nature of the contact obtained by means of sacrifice is.

I have already said that the foods on which a

people depend for subsistence tend to be invested with ritual value as primary sources of life. We find that cattle among pastoral people, and, among hoe culture people, corn or other foods in the form sometimes of beer or wine which are thought to contain the spiritual essence of the food, are used as a means of gaining contact with the world of the ancestral spirits. I shall illustrate the process from the cattle area. In this area we find that cattle occupy a central place in the culture; they are the chief object of man's thoughts, his chief form of wealth, and his most treasured possessions. They are wealth of a kind, it is true, but they are not to be sold, nor are they to be killed for everyday purposes. They are indeed ritual animals, which stand in intimate relationship with the human group to which they belong, so that any influence affecting the human group is liable to affect them too. The milk of the cattle of the clan is a special ritual food and must not be drunk by strangers. There is a tendency to view it in much the same light as the blood of the clan, so that by partaking of the milk one shares in the blood of the clan too. A woman coming into the clan by marriage may not partake of the milk until she is firmly established in her new home, and persons polluted by death or in some other way must not drink until they have been purified.

Cattle are not lightly killed by these tribes, but on ritual occasions, at a birth, a marriage, or a death,

these animals play a very special part. Indeed no ceremony of this kind would be complete without a ceremonial meal of the meat of one of these animals. The cattle form a very intimate bond between the living members of the group and the spirit members, for the cattle have come to the living by inheritance from the dead, or are acquired by the living with the spiritual aid of the dead. This is why in all communions between the world of the living and the world of the dead the cattle and the produce of the fields form the sacrificial medium.

To sacrifice means literally "to make sacred," and the French scholars Hubert and Mauss have shown us that the ritual of sacrifice the world over has common elements. There must always be a victim, which must be sacred in its own right or must be made sacred by consecration. In Africa this is effected in a variety of ways: by finding out through the diviner which animal the ancestors desire; by pouring libations on the animal; by spitting on it; by dedicating it to the ancestors, telling them that their ox is being given them; in one way or other the divine principle is brought down into the animal itself, and the spirits manifest their acceptance of the sacrifice through the behavior of the animal, the appearance of its organs when killed, or in some other way. The animal must be killed in order that the divine principle contained in it may be conveyed to all the kindred.

The most common method of achieving this is by eating of its flesh, though there are many other ways. This communal meal is a method used throughout Africa for obtaining spiritual renewal for the people. The whole kindred should be present, and if any cannot come a part must be taken to him. Here we have collective action in which the kindred is made to realize its solidarity and the source of its solidarity.

These sacrifices may be private, or they may be public and involve the chief and the whole people; they may in either case be occasional or regular. Thus an occasional public sacrifice takes place when a new chief is installed, when an army is prepared for battle, when a propitiation for rain is sought. A regular sacrifice for the country takes place at the feast of the first fruits when thanksgiving for the harvest is made. Following the national sacrifice each family has a ritual offering of first fruits in honor of its deceased members. Every important event in the family life is marked by some kind of sacrifice. Indeed the ancestors are remembered in all the crises of life when man is in need of spiritual aid.

I have been trying to show that the ancestor worship of the African people is most intimately bound up with their whole social structure, and is an essential part of the faith by which they live. Before dealing with the present position of these beliefs and the influence of Christian teaching on them, it will be as well if we turn to the second principle which I

thing remote from man. Nevertheless in times of dire distress a tribe or an individual will appeal to Ngai, to Leza, to Nyambe, or however else this supreme power may be called.

Apart from this belief in a first cause, as it were, there is a tendency to personify those natural phenomena that obviously influence the life of man. Phenomena of the weather, for example, are conceived of as a manifestation of a great power, vaguely personal, a power sensitive to human conduct, so that irregularities in the world of man are bound to react immediately on the world of nature and will call forth such signs as droughts, storms or pestilences.

This attitude has other deep-rooted influences. Since all causes are social causes, nothing happens that is merely "natural"; that is, nothing happens uninfluenced by the world of man or by experiences similar to those sustained by man. Death itself is hardly natural, sickness is not the result of some organism attacking the body or of some physical maladjustment, but both are the result of some sin of omission or commission on the part of the sufferer, or worse still, the result of some evil wish against him on the part of another.

Since the ancestors first lived according to the existing order and are the guardians of the moral code, it is they in the first instance who are thought of as visiting on their descendants punishment for some

omission or commission. The sick man has neglected some customary ritual or some duty to the ancestors; he is ailing because he is ritually impure; his sickness is in a sense a sin, an impurity. No human help will avail him until this impurity is removed, hence the first step to take in the case of sickness is to discover the ritual impurity or the ancestor who has been neglected and set these irregularities right; then and then only can healing processes be set to work on the body. Purificatory sacrifices are thus a necessary part of the treatment of all sickness, and the ancestors are thought of as exacting penalties for breaches of the code. But the ancestors are, after all, one's own spirits, kindly and forgiving; if all is ritually pure they will no longer cause suffering. With evilly disposed enemies it is far otherwise, their machinations will never cease until their victim is completely done for. Most unfortunate, therefore, is the man whose sickness or other trouble is caused by malevolent beings on earth. For since the spiritual power in the universe is akin to the power displayed by human beings, it is possible to tamper with this power and use it for evil purposes. This is the basis of the belief in witchcraft that we find among all African peoples.

By long training and an abnormal mode of living, persons can concentrate this power in themselves and can use it to make others suffer. Not only can they lay their enemies low, they can bring disaster on the whole tribe for their own ends. No wonder that the

wizard is thought of as the worst criminal in African society, no wonder that he is stamped out with such cruelty when he is believed to have been found. Tampering with the unseen forces of the universe for anti-social ends is the worst crime in Africa; the offender is always cruelly punished, and this whether he has worked intentionally or is an innocent intermediary. For power can be concentrated quite unintentionally; some people indeed are born with an "evil eye"; but so long as they are alive, so long as their baneful influence is at work in the community, nothing can succeed, and innocent as they are in intention they must be stamped out.

It is needless to point out that the unscrupulous persons and the influential persons in a tribe can use these beliefs to their own ends. The important thing that should be grasped is that these are the beliefs of a whole race, and it is useless to rail at them, useless to hope for stoppage of what seem to us senseless customs, so long as the racial mind is unchanged. The haunting fear of witchcraft, the ever present feeling of unseen powers working around one, can never be eradicated until some conception of the working of natural laws is made clear to African people. The curse of witchcraft is the penalty these people are paying for their failure to understand the working of natural laws, their failure to perceive that the natural world is not man-centered. It is not because they love their children less that African

people kill off the child who has cut its upper teeth first, or crush in a pot unfortunate little twins, but because it is their belief that these abnormalities, these breaches of an established uniformity, a social ritual, are revelations of something radically wrong, of something impure in the family structure, and that unless the evil be got rid of dire calamity may befall not only the family but the community. One might risk the evil to oneself, but any sign of misfortune in the community at large will bring down the wrath of all affected.

These mysterious forces need not always operate for evil. It is possible to control them in such a way that they work for the well-being of the people. The old man will have more control than the youth, the district headman than the family head, but the really powerful person is the chief. He is the intermediary between the people and their most powerful spirits, he is indeed the representative of the people, the embodiment of their laws and customs. It is he who can control the spiritual forces of the universe, who can set in train a series of ceremonies which will concentrate, in the most efficacious way for his people, the powers in the universe. For this to be possible his whole life must be a ritual, for on him depends the setting of the environment; he must produce the rain, he must bless the seed, he must control the harvesting. If the chief dies and no successor has been appointed, no public action can be taken, no circumci-

tached in the old days to the African's exchange of cattle for wives, for ceremonial purifications, is assuming more and more the character of pure sales, while the African wonders that the old spiritual peace no longer seems to bless his doings, however carefully he may perform the old ceremonies.

No one who has studied carefully the social organization of the African people can doubt that its foundations are good. The strong position of the home has largely helped to preserve the people through the period of stress and strain. It should be the aim of all who are interested in their future to preserve as much as possible of the traditional respect for age, of obedience in the family. And surely something can be done to preserve the reverence for the spirits of the dead. It is true that the ancestors cause trouble, and that they must be propitiated. But this should not prevent us from recognizing that for these people these spirits are their own spirits, whom they love. Would it not be possible to alter their belief in such a way that they can retain their respect and love for the spirits, and lose the fear which they have now?

The solid rank of the kindred will not be able to withstand the changed economic conditions in Africa. All too rapidly the African people are being drawn into the economic circle established by Western civilization, and sooner or later economic interdepend-

ence rather than kinship loyalties will come to bind them together. Nevertheless, as we know in our own civilization, the basis of that kinship organization, the family, is the foundation of any stable civilization, and the African peoples should be helped to put aside the superstructure while preserving the loyalties established within the family itself. This task is perhaps easier than the other.

To help the African peoples to reverence God is not difficult, to introduce a worship of God is easy, for they already have, as I have stated, a belief in a supreme power, which so far has had little contact with the daily run of men's lives but which nevertheless is fully real to them. To teach them to reverence a Christian God and to live a Christian life will be neither more nor less difficult than it is to teach the rest of humanity, once the great stumbling-block is removed. The African peoples must be rid of the horrors and fears and superstitions which have come to them from their lack of understanding of the forces of nature.

To wean Africans from the belief that there is only one kind of force in the world, and this one the kind they experience in human behavior, will be a long and arduous task. Nothing less will do than the gradual revelation of the complexity of the universe. Christian teachers, at any rate, will believe that the manifestations of law and order in the world reveal

an intelligible spiritual direction; that the revolutions of the heavens, the successions of the seasons, and all the complexities of the natural world are controlled by something infinitely greater than the spasmodic doings of each little group of men upon earth. This teaching is bound to be slow and difficult, as all teaching of science is difficult, but it will have a wonderful influence on the outlook of African peoples. It will relieve them of the enormous burden of ritual which today bears them down. Today the African carries his world on his shoulders, and considers himself responsible for all that occurs therein. He is tied to a meticulous method of performing everything, for this method is not his to experiment with, it is part of the constitution of the universe. Let him once realize that the universe runs its course by immutable laws which he cannot alter, and he will be relieved of an incalculable burden of the spirit. The joy of discovery, the freedom to experiment and control, will be his. Above all he will be relieved of the atmosphere of fear in which he now lives, and will be enabled to help in the conquest of his environment and in the control of his own destiny in a way which has never been possible hitherto.

Meantime it behooves us to have sympathy with the efforts these people are making. They are doing all they know how to gain health and physical and spiritual blessing for the communities in which they live. The least we can do is to try with sympathy to

understand the processes of their thought, in order that we may bring such enlightenment as we have ourselves attained.

Winifred Hoernlé
Milner Park, Johannesburg

under whom they dwelt and labored. In many cases the missionary was the uncrowned king of the community, able by his personal influence to persuade a whole tribe to move to more suitable sites and richer pasture-lands. The repeopling of what is now the Eastern Free State is in great part due to the missionaries, who induced wandering tribes to cease their fugitive existence or their predatory career and to adopt the settled life of agriculturists."

The value of their work, the good they have rendered to the Bantu, the foundations they laid for the modernization of the African, not to mention the supreme gift of the gospel, cannot be reckoned. They have placed generations of Africans in a position of being their grateful debtors. For the missionaries sacrificed home, relatives and comfort for our sake, and for the service of God and humanity. But for them and their self-denial we would never have been in a position to express ourselves through any medium such as this article. They were the first whites to establish friendly contacts with native Africans, in contrast with their commercial fellow-men, who brought the sword and dispossessed us of our beloved territory. They were the only friends among the white race whom we could count upon for better or for worse. A mission station was always a bright beacon and a lighted window in darkness. Of the three agencies of civilization, the missionary enterprise constitutes the most important, the other two

being conquest and commerce. Missionaries in Africa transformed the lives of the blacks and inculcated the principles of humility, love, obedience, peacefulness, of work and honesty, of cleanliness and sanitation. They founded schools, beginning with Sunday schools and elementary schools in the 'twenties, following in the 'fifties with secondary educational institutions of the type of Lovedale and Healdtown, of which there are now about thirty in South Africa. These are capped by the Native University College at Fort Hare, now ten years old, which trains for degrees in arts, science, pedagogy, theology and medicine. In a word, the missionaries were beneficent pioneers in the humanities and peaceful arts of civilization.

The Dutch farmers who first settled in the Cape bitterly resented the fraternal attitude of the missionaries towards the natives, as they held that the Bantu should not be regarded or treated as Christian brothers but rather "be kept in their place with the lower order of animals." The final result of these differences, about which there was much to say on both sides, was that the missionaries who insisted on the human rights of the Bantu commanded supreme influence with Exeter Hall and the imperial government. The Boers, disgusted at the political interference of the missionaries, quitted the Cape Colony, migrating to what is now known as the Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Natal, where they hoped to

handle the black man according to their own notions, unhampered by the officious interference of missionaries. Whatever be the merits of this controversy, whatever the mistakes committed by the missionaries against the Boers, or the injustice perpetrated on the natives by the Boer farmers, this fact stands out in bold relief today, namely, that the Cape Colony is the one province in all South Africa where the black man has been treated with sympathy and justice, and where he has attained to happiness; whilst in the three northern provinces he has always suffered an unhappy life, groaning under the yoke of contempt and injustice.

Serious as were these hindrances from European neighbors, the missionaries further encountered difficulties arising from the nature of the Bantu pre-Christian conditions and environment. The Bantu social system and customs, the rigid authority of their chiefs and counsellors, their legacy of sensualism due to the system of polygamy and the consequent degradation of women, their love of strong drink, and the absence of any true sense of responsibility before God and therefore of conscious need of a Savior—all these constituted real hindrances to successful effort in Christian missionary work.

As one looks back over the history of Christian missions in Africa, there are apparent now some serious mistakes both of omission and commission on the part of the earlier Western missionaries. They

omitted to supply their converts with organized leisure activities, individual and social, as substitutes for the native pastimes which they condemned as demoralizing. In primitive life the youth of Bantu Africa were accustomed to indulge in organized dances and vigorous gymnastics performed under the auspices and regulation of the parents, particularly during the harvest season. As these were inseparable from superstitious customs and often accompanied by suggestive postures and movements of the body, there was no alternative for the missionary but to condemn them. The consequence was that the children of Christian converts lost this natural safety-valve for their exuberant energy, and were deprived of many harmless amusements which legitimately belong to all adolescents regardless of race or place.

In the case of Christian African boys and girls employed in urban areas, this casting off of native social activities before Christian substitutes could be provided frequently ended in disaster. Their evening hours from seven till nine o'clock after the day's work and their spare time on Saturdays and Sundays being blank, they were quickly seized upon by the devil who gives idle hands things mischievous to do. This neglect to build up necessary substitutes for what has been thrown down, conserving elements of social good, partly accounts for the gangs of ruffians so notorious today in city and village that they

have become a problem for both government and missions.

A second mistake is suggested by the dissolution of the ancient customs connected with puberty. All the Bantu observed rites of circumcision which officially transferred boys into the dignity of manhood, and puberty ceremonies which changed girls into women. Attached to these customs was repulsive revelry. It is unjust to take the missionaries to task for abolishing such debasing orgies, but in eradicating them they went to the other extreme and threw away with the evil many elements of good. These festivals were occasions for pointed exhortation by the elders, for the inculcation of noble principles governing the duties of adult age. Nothing has been supplied of a Christian character to replace these age-long opportunities of youth to receive authoritative precepts on the code of adult conduct in a manner compatible with national tradition.

Another mistake concerns the perpetuation of denominationalism. It is regrettable that the old tribal divisions should be further broken into by an extraneous sectarianism with the genesis of which the Africans had nothing to do. One outcome of this religious separatism from the West is that many Africans have taken these divisions more seriously than did their Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic authors; and the unnecessary emphasis laid on them by some missionaries has produced lively antagonism among the

newly born Christians. This has made it harder to make converts, because when the Africans are visited by rival mission bands they inevitably ask, "How many gods are there? Which god are we asked to believe?"

The overlapping of missionary work due to denominationalism produces some absurdities. For instance, in a village like Nancefield, near Johannesburg, containing only about five thousand natives, there are as many as thirty-four different gospel bells or wagon-hoops ringing at eleven o'clock of a Sunday morning, and in the Pretoria Location there are sixty-five places of worship.

While missionaries have taken tender care of the souls of their converts they have not shown similar concern for their land-rights; in certain cases today the natives actually believe they have lost their land to the mission station. This gives color to the accusation that the missionary is the sweet-tongued predecessor of his land-grabbing brother. It is quite common now to hear a native tub-thumper addressing a crowd of his fellow-men and decrying Western missions on the ground that "they told you to close your eyes and pray, and the other whites came and took away the land from behind your back while you kept your eyes closed." And this: "At first we had the land and the white man had the Bible; now we have the Bible and the white man has the land." In one of our native Reserves an obstinate native, on being asked by

the missionary why he would not surrender to Christ, replied sardonically, "If I take this religion, you whites will take my name down in your book, and a government magistrate will follow and take my land in your absence."

In educational policy many missionaries have made the mistake of organizing the curricula as though all students were to become teachers or ministers, whereas the majority have always entered the ordinary pursuits of life. Frequently those students who were educated in mission schools for industries or trades were not trained to develop the initiative or diligence necessary for success. Agriculture, the livelihood of nine-tenths of the aborigines, has, until recently, been conspicuous by its absence from the missionary school curriculum.

The attitude of Christian missions towards war has always struck the African thinker as one of enigmatic inconsistency. While the New Testament exhorts, "Blessed are the peacemakers," the missionaries pray to the God of peace for victory in war. Is war Christian or unchristian, and ought not Christian missionaries to be examples, in attitude of mind as well as in deed, of the ideal standard of Jesus?

While natives in town and country are enjoined to observe the Sabbath day and keep it holy, they see many Europeans in cities like Pretoria going out on Sunday to play tennis, cricket, golf, and to disport themselves in the public swimming baths. Then the

Africans naïvely ask, "Why do the white ministers allow their white congregations to desecrate the Sabbath?" Obviously the missionary's table of don'ts for the native is not that of the white minister for the white parishioner, though the two workers often live side by side.

Despite all these criticisms, we do not lose sight of the inestimable good done for the aboriginal Africans through the advent of Western missionaries. The good certainly far outweighs the mistakes. We have already acknowledged the benefits they have brought to the Bantu in politics and education. They have trained native successors, of whom they may well be proud, to preach the gospel and carry forward religious activities in connection with every church. All our native leaders today in every sphere of life are men who owe their education and training to some missionary school or college. Some missionaries, like the late Andrew Smith of Lovedale, have endowed scholarships for the higher education of native youth. Certain missions have given the natives a generous chance to develop their own indigenous church under the auspices and encouragement of the mother churches in the West. Such is the Order of Ethiopia, instituted by the Church of England and placed under the control of an African clergyman. Such also is the Bantu Presbyterian Church founded by the missionaries of Scotland but now placed entirely in the hands of the natives.

Infinite is our debt to the missionaries for reducing our languages to writing, for permanently conserving our folklore and history, for establishing a considerable African literature, as well as for directing the pursuit of African philology, sociology, anthropology, and ethnology on scientific lines.

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We shall now consider the present position of Christian missions, keeping in mind such questions as: What do the young Christian native leaders really think of Western missions? What is the relation of the missionary to the unhampered development of indigenous Christianity in Africa and to the general future well-being of the African race? What do the Christian and non-Christian Africans think of the character and status of organized Christianity in their midst?

In order to correct half truths and be fair to both sides, we shall begin with the criticisms of not all but some of the young native leaders who have received a modern education, and shall consider how far these criticisms are based on facts.

The most energetic native organization in the country and the one which receives the loudest advertisement in the white press is the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, commonly called the I.C.U. Its leader, Clements Kadalie, is a native of Nyasaland who formerly attended school under white missionaries at Livingstonia. The spokesmen of this or-

ganization represent the left-wing group among intelligent natives; that is to say, they are the most outspoken critics of Western missions, and of white exploitation, rapacity, materialism and economic strangulation. Being in intimate touch with the suffering of the depressed proletariat, and being acquainted with godless and unscrupulous employers of labor, they poignantly feel the brunt of the inexorable present struggle for existence in South Africa. In their meetings they often deliver vigorous tirades against Western Christianity and missionaries. Their charges are usually based on the exceptional lapses of individual missionaries. It is impossible to disagree with them on the failure of Western organizations to live up to the ideals of Christianity. They attack the social snobbery of some modern missionaries. They unfavorably contrast the apparently luxurious life of some white missionaries who travel about in automobiles, with the humbleness of the earliest missionaries who lived the lowly life of Africans. They affirm that Christianity outside missionary circles fails to mollify the essential cruelty, coarseness and selfishness of the ordinary white man. All this cannot easily be dismissed as being the rancorous vaporings of disgruntled agitators injured by exclusion from church communion, as indeed these speakers are mostly non-church members.

In a concise pamphlet entitled "The Bantu and Christianity" a young African clergyman, the Rev.

H. M. Maimane of Transvaal, makes some striking animadversions that are typical of the opinion of critical Christian workers throughout Africa:

Most natives have rejected the Christian life because of the white men who are non-communicants, non-service-attenders, non-prayer-sayers. They find these whites playing tennis, working, or strolling about the streets, watering gardens, and what not, on Sundays while church services are going on, and they wonder. They see and hear of so much unfairness done by individual whites here and there, and then by the state officials towards the black men, that they naturally wonder why people who preach to them of a loving good God who has no respect for color should commit such wickedness towards other human beings; so they conclude that the whole thing, Christianity, is a deceit. . . . All through South Africa natives talk of Christianity as a "white man's religion." I personally do not think it a white man's religion. The very failure of the whites, failure to observe religious laws, should be an indication to us that this is not naturally a white man's religion.

It is a question whether the now prevailing idea that Christianity is a white man's religion is not the direct fruit of the European presentation of the gospel to the aborigines. The missionaries being keen not only to spread the good news, but also to win the Bantu to pay allegiance to European power, preached and taught blunderingly at the expense of the Bantu's accurate grasp of the principles of Christianity. It seems they did not present this religion in such a way that their Bantu converts could associate it with their own religion. They did not start from the known and proceed to the unknown. They went hurry-skurry in condemning all that was Bantu. In fact, some did not preach Christianity as such, but rather the destruction of Bantu customs, and used Christianity as an effective means towards that end, threatening people with hell-fire.

Speaking from a close acquaintance of the Bantu Christian's regard for and attitude towards Christianity, one may assert that they, as a whole, were not and are not converted from heathenism into Christianity, but from the "isms" of Bantu-

dom into those of Europe. They were led to plunge headlong into the unknown Western civilization, leaving all they knew, and vitally depended on, behind to rot. They embraced Christianity not for itself but because it was an essential element of Western civilization. Their moral standards and their moral teachings were condemned without anything substantial being put in their place. Bantu inventions, handicrafts, songs, etc., were discouraged as not compatible with real Christianity. Beads were cut off from the bodies of converts as not becoming to Christians. Now that the natives, upon awakening from their sleep of ignorance, find they have been made to lose their initiative, to lose their inventive powers, which were starved to death by men who today scornfully censure them as "of non-inventive powers," though they know truly that they found the Bantu with their inventions; now that the Bantu have to buy these utensils dearly from a European store, now that they see clearly how their land, with its ancient iron and tin mines, has been cunningly taken from them in order to render them uninventive and to enrich the white man by making him the sole possessor of all the material resources and necessities of this life and of the best arable land; I say, when the natives observe all this they feel dizzy and find themselves resenting everything that is European and Western. So, without fairly testing Christianity and comparing it with their own religion in essence, they condemn it chiefly because it was introduced by Europeans, in whom they are fast losing confidence if confidence is not already irrevocably lost.

Though some destruction of Bantu customs and deprivation of their rights to the land was and is done by the state and not by the actual preachers of Christianity, and though the Bantu themselves have been to a certain extent the direct agents of the downfall of some of their customs, they are not educated enough to see all this. They blame the missionary most because he is the nearest white man whose mode of living they can study and be brought into direct contact with. They hear him preaching Christ Jesus, but do not see him or his state acting like Christ Jesus. They say that the state is Christian; it has sent this man to blindfold and hoodwink us with this mild religion to the advantage of the state. The missionary

and the politician are brothers working in collusion for the same end.

For space reasons we forbear to quote further from many other native writers, such as Moses Mpahlele, Gabriel Mabeta, John Mavelle, Miles Mzili, who write in similar strain.

The whole trend of government legislation during the last seventeen years has undermined the influence of the missionary enterprise. Its fundamental laws bearing on land tenure, political rights, passes, farm servants, poll taxes, industrial labor, culminating in the notorious Color Bar Act of 1926, have been both oppressive and insulting to the susceptibilities of the Bantu. The color bar in the Transvaal tram cars, race discrimination in law-courts and public offices, not to mention innumerable other unpleasant points of contact, are injurious to the tender feelings of black men. "No square deal for the black man until the white man is served" seems to be the tacit governing principle; and the position between Christianity in the ideal and Christianity in practice becomes arrestingly paradoxical. Nevertheless it is only fair to say that vigorous efforts have been made by clergy of the English Church and the Dutch Reformed body to protest against the more outrageous anti-native government measures. However, the activity of a few years can hardly exonerate older missionaries from the lethargy and reticence of many previous years, when the natives underwent unspeakable

sufferings from the tortures of the 1913 Natives' Land Act.

The biggest racial stumbling-block to the whites of South Africa is the word equality. The *fons et origo mali* of all our legislative troubles and native church separatism is the denial of equal treatment for those natives who have advanced enough in education, civilization, character and ambition to claim and deserve an equal opportunity to satisfy their reasonable ambitions and to secure the ordinary advantages and requirements of life for themselves and their children. Many of the white race seem to be determined to deny the black race the chance of getting land, an education, adequate labor wages, official billets, and landed property rights in urban areas on equal terms with the white. Social intermixture and miscegenation the black man does not beg nor want. But we do believe that the spirit of the New Testament gives us the justification to expect from missionaries at least, if not from the rest, an acknowledgment of the principle that in the eyes of God all men are equally precious, and are by inference entitled to equality of treatment in the ordinary affairs of life, even where local prejudice otherwise forbids social admixture and intermarriage. We claim equality of opportunity, nothing more nor less. This is the vexed question of the color bar by virtue of which the constitution of the South Africa Act of 1909 lays down in clause 26 a racial bar or stigma against the eligi-

bility of all non-Europeans to membership in Parliament—a bar always quoted as a precedent to exclude black men from the legitimate fruits of their labor in industry and public service. It would appear to be the duty of the missionaries, from the very nature of their calling, to be outspoken in their repudiation of such an unchristian principle; but the young educated Africans observe that many missionaries show indecision, and sometimes approval of what we otherwise look upon as unjust. Professor du Plessis lays it down thus: "A century of Christian missions in South Africa has since proved the fallacy of the opinions held by van der Kemp as to the . . . natural equality of all men."

Upholding racial exclusiveness in church organization, the same author proceeds to say that the equal status and other elements of fraternity between native and European workers as illustrated by the South African Wesleyan Methodists have been "always open to question." On the other hand he admits the advantage of such coalescence when he says, "The Anglican and Wesleyan churches, affirming as they do the principle that no distinction should be made between European and native clergy, between white and black congregations, are easily first among the missionary agencies in South Africa in the number of their native ministers and helpers."

Evidently the particular kind of equality dreaded by the whites of South Africa is the social intermix-

ture that goes hand in hand with intermarriage, presumably ending in the economic submersion and political domination of white by black. If this be the case, why apply it to other relations and confuse it with the rightful claim to equality of opportunity apart from race mixture? The African needs equality of opportunity for his own existence and service to his compatriots and to the world in which he was placed equally with other races by the inscrutable dispensation of God. It is this failure of the missionaries to rise above the ground-level of an unchristian world that has called forth censure from young Africa.

To gather up our argument, we may affirm that young native Africans gratefully acknowledge all the benefits that are being provided for them by the modern missionary; that some of our extremists have, for their own reasons, found it profitable to denounce the missionaries without restraint; that the criticisms of the type submitted by the young African preacher quoted above are not the angry ravings of an injured man but the valid, considered, and constructive views of an earnest worker who has maintained his church status with integrity, working in cooperation with white missionary associates; that with regard to the government, the missionaries and the whole of organized Western Christianity have been remiss and should exert greater effort in the future to influence governmental policy along lines consistent with Christian policy; that the time has

come for organized Christianity to revise and define its attitude on the principle of equality among white and black Christians.

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We conclude with a few constructive suggestions of missionary policy which we believe will save Africa in the future from the mistakes of the past, accelerate its evangelization, remove the conditions that make for retardation and stagnation, and further the legitimate aspirations of younger educated Africans.

Our strongest critics do not go the length of condemning Christianity *per se* as being a discredited religious system, nor do they advocate any other alternative. What they feel is that the professors of Christianity have dismally failed to live up to the standard commanded them by their Master. They readily confess that Christianity is the best religious system they know. As the author of another chapter in their book has said, "Of all the religions of the earth, the Christian religion is the most uplifting and civilizing agency the world has ever produced. It is puerile to discard the religion of Christ simply because other peoples have failed to grasp its meaning."

We want Christianity because it is the only religion which has proved adequate for all our life and spiritual ideals. It suits our psychology, and is readily

assimilated with our former spiritualism and customs if only the right methods are used.

The ancient Bantu believed in the "Great Great One," whom they vaguely reverenced along with the spirits of their departed ancestors. The Rev. Maimane rightly declares that the Bantu invariably show lively interest whenever one preaches to them about the Pauline "unknown God"; for Christianity is "a fuller revelation of God and fuller details of him, and of man's concern with him and his concern with man. These ideas cannot fail to bear good fruits if they are carefully fostered in the minds of the Bantu."

Concerning native customs (quoting from a paper written two years ago by the present author), Dr. Aggrey with characteristic wisdom once said that he wished all missionaries had learnt algebra, for then they would have known how to eliminate by substitution. Take the abolition of amusements and musical dances with nothing else put in their place. The non-convert natives taunt the Christians with being a lugubrious, long-faced, and unamused community devoid of the fun-making entertainments of the good old times. This lack of gayety in native Christian communities has led to the other extreme and unconsciously abetted the evils of gambling, drunkenness, and immorality. Until adequate substitution of innocent pleasures is made, the gospel will not thrive. The Bantu have always possessed a firm solidarity

founded upon their common traditions. This demands that the preaching of the gospel and the practice of Christian living shall be adapted to natural conditions rather than superimposed upon a destroyed social system.

The problem of amusements has been solved in a practical manner by the American Board missionary in Johannesburg, the Rev. Ray Phillips, who devotes his whole time and attention to the provision of healthy recreation for natives. Instead of one missionary, however, there ought to be over a hundred distributed over the whole of South Africa to counteract the evils that beset our young generation in the modern city and countryside.

At this point we would venture a recommendation that mission societies broaden their policies to permit of the setting aside of specially trained workers for the adapting of Christian social service methods to the needs of our native people. Such activities and institutions as playgrounds, boy-scout and girl-scout troops, athletic leagues, community centers, women's clubs for domestic science and child welfare study, men's clubs where discussions and debates under Christian guidance may be held, community bands and choirs—all these are badly needed.

We would urge, too, that missionary leaders make it their business to see that commercialized amusements such as the roadside carnival and the moving picture shows, which are exercising an increasing in-

fluence on the young, be subject to rigid censorship. Our people should have the best, not the worst, that Western civilization has to offer.

We rejoice that the Y. M. C. A. is moving to extend its activities to Bantu youth, and that the boy-scout movement is sanctioning the extension of that organization to native boys. Missionaries have been influential in bringing about these developments. May they continue to extend their influence in all those activities making for the growth of Christian character.

Among the special social evils confronting missionary work and requiring an intensive and concentrated attack from Western home bases is the problem of alcoholism in its various forms: intemperance, illicit liquor traffic, *shebeens*, local option, vested drink interests, municipal saloons or canteens, and so on. It is no exaggeration to say that most of the best educated Bantu leaders, past and present, have been lost to Africa through drink. No foreign missionary program will ever be complete without a special department established to protect Christian natives from this evil.

Sexual immorality, another serious evil confronting the Christian church, is rather waxing than waning. It has derived fresh impetus from Western industrialism, the craze for modern civilization, and the fatal transition period resulting from the collapse of the ancient Bantu social system, which for-

merly kept this evil within limits notwithstanding crude methods. Its spread is closely associated with the lack of organized and supervised recreation for adolescents to occupy especially the idle evening hours and week-ends. One solution is suggested by the activities of the Rev. Mr. Phillips in establishing in Johannesburg the Bantu Men's Social Center. This does for the African progressive men just what the great Y. M. and Y. W. centers in the United States do for colored men and women. Every South African town and native country village sorely needs such an institution, especially for the women. The present writer and his wife have attempted this in their village church, but only with limited success, owing to lack of friends and outside help.

Another development causing deep concern is the breakdown of family discipline among Christian natives, also traceable to the fatal transition away from old Bantu customs. This has been accentuated by the increased poverty in agricultural districts, where in many a family the real breadwinner is the boy or girl who goes out from home to work in the industrial centers, and who in consequence acquires exaggerated ideas of self-rule and independence. This is a serious problem which has assumed alarming proportions.

For full information on the subject of education there are abundant records. Let it suffice to add here that we need a reinforcement of funds, endowments and scholarships to enable the more promising men

and women in our secondary schools to proceed to higher education at the Fort Hare University College. It is heart-rending to see so many potential leaders lost to Africa each year through lack of funds or scholarships founded on the lines of the Andrew Smith bursary at Lovedale, or by the English Society of Friends at Fort Hare.

Africa offers an infinite scope for the interracial cooperative movement which has achieved such conspicuous success in the adjustment of race relations in the United States. We need more traveling secretaries like the Rev. Max Yergan, provided by the Negro Y. M. C. A. of the United States, to work in South Africa, not only to give Christian direction to future leaders through the Students' Christian Movement in the native colleges, but also to serve as a racial link between white and black in a general effort to increase cooperation and good will. We need also some association which will bring together the missionaries working among natives and the ministers of white congregations, again for the purpose of mutual education in interracial questions, and for the effect on public opinion and government circles.

We need white immigrants of Christian character who will migrate to South Africa as school teachers and ordinary citizens to live the Christlike life, working as missionaries among the white races, taking the lead in local native welfare societies, and helping forward in every way possible better racial relation-

ship. Such a class of white Christians can be of immense service in interracial conferences such as have been held periodically in Johannesburg since 1923, and may do much to restore the loss of confidence in Western institutions, religious and political.

Our concluding word to the present and future Western missionaries is this:

Young educated Africa appeals for sympathy with her legitimate aspirations towards religious autonomy; for the dissemination of liberal views in press, pulpit and platform on the right of the Bantu to a happy future in the land of their birth; for protection in the settlement of land questions so inseparably bound up with the principles of religion; for the inculcation of Christian principles on native affairs in white homes, schools, farms, towns or clubs; for the kind of life that Jesus would have led had he lived as a white man today in South Africa.

To our fellow students in the colleges of North America we appeal for more intelligent understanding and cooperation, that we may be enabled to grow in the brotherhood of Christ Jesus and in the service of our fellow-men, and to achieve our national destiny under the providence of Almighty God.

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V

PROBLEMS OF THE AFRICAN CHURCH

I REGRET that it is not possible for me to discuss the problems of the Christian church in the continent of Africa as a whole. My knowledge of conditions is restricted to Africa south of the Zambezi River. This part of Africa has been called "the land of problems," and not least of these are the problems of the Christian church in relation to the people of African descent, who are variously referred to as the Bantu, the Africans, or the natives.

From the time of their arrival in the country the missionaries have been confronted with the problem of evangelization in its many phases; how to approach the African, and how to present or preach the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ so as to penetrate his mind, appeal to his judgment, and win his heart. We Africans rejoice to give our testimony to the fact that the efforts of the earlier missionaries have to a great extent been crowned with success. Although Europeans were settled in South Africa for nearly three centuries, serious evangelization of the native people began only a little over a hundred years ago, and it is gratifying to record that according to the 1921 census of the Union of South Africa

there were then 1,605,927 native Africans who returned themselves or were returned by those acting for them, as professing Christians, as against 3,091,886 outside the pale of the Christian church. The grim problem now is how to reach this remaining mass, over sixty per cent of the population.

Study of the membership of the Christian church in South Africa reveals the fact that the gospel appeal has found its best response in the soul of the female population. While the active opposition of the first half of the century has died down, a large proportion of the male population remains cold and apathetic. The leaders of the church are asking if the right approach to the male African is to him as an individual, or as a member of a group, social system, tribe, or nation.

In my humble opinion the individual method has the effect of producing what one might call a feminine type of Christianity. The appeal to the conscience of the individual touches the conscience of the woman but largely fails to move that of the man. The present writer has tried the group system, making request of the head of a tribe or clan to arrange for meetings of men only. At these meetings he would speak to his male audience as a group, pointing out to them that it is religion, like righteousness, that exalteth a nation. He would remind them of the gropings of their ancestors after the light, and their progress in religion as revealed in their tribal customs, and in

their ceremonial rites as practised in connection with such events as the recognition of puberty and the initiation into manhood. He would refer to the practice of healing by the washing of persons suffering from maladies believed to be inflicted by the family spirits as a mark of displeasure at the neglect of family tribal duties, and to their customs and beliefs in connection with prayer for rain. He would thus, without affronting their respect for themselves and for their ancestors, present religion as a gradual growth, the universal Father revealing himself in one way or another to all his children, and seeking them that they may come into fellowship with him.

The Bantu people are of a socialistic or communistic turn of mind. The Bantu man habitually thinks of himself as a member of a family, a group, or a social system, and in consequence is deeply influenced by a sense of responsibility. Because of his consciousness of group responsibility he hesitates to make a decision in matters religious, as in matters social or political, that would affect his relationship to any of these groups. He feels it necessary to consult with the principal members of his family, tribe, or society in order that his solidarity with them may be maintained. I am of the opinion that both individual and group methods of approach and appeal to the Bantu are necessary, and that the group method of first approach should be more carefully studied and more widely used.

Another problem of exceptional difficulty confronting African churches is connected with the Christian nurture of converts. A new life introduced into the world requires the best nourishment as well as the closest attention and care. So new converts need the constant support and guidance of leaders who have not only been converted but also possess a clear and deep apprehension of the implications of the Christian faith.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church in the mission field organizes its converts into societies, each society being subdivided into classes of about twelve members each. These classes meet once a week, under the guidance of a leader, for fellowship, exchange of Christian experience, instruction in Christian doctrine, prayer, spiritual nurture and admonition, and mutual edification. But the difficulty is leadership. The native church in Africa is hindered in its growth for lack of good leaders, men and women with adequate knowledge of the tenets of the faith, who enjoy the experience of true salvation, and who have disciplined themselves in applied Christianity. This difficulty must be studied and a solution found, if fruits of the arduous years spent in winning the converts are to be conserved.

The African peoples have, from time immemorial, been under the spiritual guidance of an order of religious leaders of their own whose influence has rested on fear, and whose authority derives in most

part from what we might call popular superstitions, which are to them assured beliefs, a root part of their thought and actions. Their emancipation from this reign of terror, and their adjustment to a world ruled by a fatherly God, can be effected only by an indigenous African ministry which has been well trained. Its studies should include not only the Scriptures, homiletics and theology, but should take a wider sweep to embrace psychology, sociology, anthropology, ethnology, and the elements of comparative religion. It must also concern itself with world history. The great task of the Bantu ministry is not the preaching of the gospel and the winning of converts to Christianity. It must also teach the people to understand and interpret themselves, and to understand God as revealed in Jesus Christ, and to interpret him in the light of both their past and present. The ministry must have a healthy and informed outlook upon God's world, and must be well fitted to instruct its converts in the privileges, duties and responsibilities of citizenship in the Kingdom of God. A step in the direction of a well-equipped ministry has been taken already by two of the principal native churches in placing their theological seminaries at Fort Hare, where candidates for the ministry of the Wesleyan and the Presbyterian churches can now receive their ministerial training under the wing of the South African Native College. There the future minister is introduced to branches of higher general

education which will be of great usefulness to him in the discharge of his ministerial duties when he goes out.

In the different churches there is diversity of attitude towards indigenous customs and rites, such as *lobola*, whereby a young man before marriage is required to hand over a certain number of cattle to his future father-in-law. Similarly there is diversity of attitude toward the rites, including circumcision, connected with puberty. These rites and customs are deeply rooted in the life of the people, although it is doubtful if the modern African himself nowadays understands their implications. The problem is whether or not a clean cut should be made away from these practices, as relics and embodiments of heathenism and barbarism, or whether they should, as far as possible in consistency with the Christian religion, be retained and made to serve Christian ends. Consideration of these customs reveals their national character, their importance in maintaining the self-respect of the people. It would be disastrous to the Bantu were they to feel that there was nothing in the past of their race that they could carry forward with them into Christianity. And a practice which guards against levity in contracting marriage, and rites which signalize the entrance upon manhood and womanhood and direct attention to the new obligations and responsibilities arising therefrom, should

not be regarded as valueless and incapable of Christian adaptation and utilization.

One of the problems that baffle the collective wisdom of the church in its relation to the Africans is the drink problem. Whether total abstinence should be made a condition of church membership is a question still to be answered. While one church makes total abstinence an obligation of membership, another approves moderate drinking, and a third declares no definite policy in the matter at all. Uncertainty prevails as to what the attitude should be. This uncertainty and wide difference make it difficult if not impossible for a church with stringent laws to enforce them, and the result is a policy of drift. The European church is observed to make no different laws as regards liquor for its members from those imposed by the state. In her fanaticism for the liberty of the subject, the liberty of the individual conscience to decide for itself, in her belief in the doctrine of man as the master of his own fate, South Africa does not interfere with the freedom of the white man to use liquor, so long as he does not become so drunk as to be not himself, or to become a danger or disgrace to the community. The native church, seeing this liberty and detesting whatever has the semblance of racial discrimination, is inclined to oppose total prohibition, and to take a stand against making total abstinence a condition of membership.

The outcome of this division is the invasion of the churches by the mighty forces of the drink evil. The policy of one law for the whites and another for the blacks is failing, though the authorities are not prepared to confess it. The new liquor bill of the present government, although a serious attempt to bring about a more satisfactory state of affairs and to minimize the evil, is doomed to failure. In my opinion nothing will do more to produce a healthy, vigorous national life than the adoption of the policy of total prohibition for all.

The problem of hindrances to the progress of Christianity, which has been the subject of repeated investigations and conferences, was dealt with at the South African Missionary Conference held at Johannesburg in June, 1925, in two able papers read by the Bishop of Pretoria and the Rev. John L. Dube, Principal of Ohlange Institute, Natal. Bishop Talbot remarked, "I am bound to say that I think that European Christianity, so called, operates mainly to hinder the evangelization of the native men in this country"; and Mr. Dube said, "Certain sections of the European population are too often another obstacle to the spread of the gospel among native people." What he referred to was the wrong example set by so many white people.

Another hindrance lies in the attitude of governments and Parliament towards the civil and other rights of the Africans. Their policies of exclusion or

segregation of the black man, and the series of oppressive legislative measures from 1911 to 1926 directed against the native, have created in the bosom of the black man a hardened heart, and have moved him to call a halt in his march towards a civilized life.

Now the "civilized" labor policy of the present government, which operates to the dismissing of the Africans from all skilled or semi-skilled employment to make room for "poor whites," still further intensifies the bitterness. This policy has been imbedded in legislation in the Color Bar Act of 1926, which was passed in the teeth of the strongest opposition, put up not only by the Africans but by an influential section of the European population seconded by the English-speaking churches of the land. In addition to this legislative action, the differential treatment of native laborers by their individual employers or by corporate employing bodies in respect to wages, awakens and constantly fosters deep resentment. The black laborer, who receives wages at the rate of two, three or four pounds sterling a month, sees his white fellow-laborer receiving that same amount for a week, or it may be even for a day.

Last but not least to be mentioned of these grievances which are alienating the blacks from the whites and from the white man's religion and civilization are the legislative proposals embodied in the quartet of bills laid upon the table of the House of Parlia-

ment on May 6, 1926, by the Prime Minister. Of these the most obnoxious is that which deprives the Bantu people of the Cape province of the franchise rights conferred upon them by the Parliament of Great Britain during the benign reign of Queen Victoria of revered memory.

The net result of these discriminating actions and measures is that now we are faced with a condition of affairs wherein the African mind is in revolt against Western Christianity, against Christianity as taught by the white man. Discontent and disappointment with the white man, and bitterness at his discriminations, have raised what has come to be called the problem of the separatist churches. This concerns a movement that first became significant on the secession of the Rev. James M. Dwane from the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1892. The movement is in the first place the expression of a desire on the part of the African churches for independence in ecclesiastical affairs, the desire for freedom from European control to worship God in their own fashion and in accordance with their own religious genius. It is also a direct outcome of the race consciousness which has gripped the African peoples as it has the peoples of Europe and Asia, a religious expression of the growing spirit of nationalism. The black man looks at the ecclesiastical system of the white man. He notices that the Jew has a religion of his own, that the Italian is generally a Roman Cath-

olic, the German a Lutheran, the Hollander a member of the Dutch Reformed church, the Englishman an Anglican, and the Scot a Presbyterian, and he draws the conclusion that the African, if he is true to his race, will also and should develop a church system typically his own. At first the separatists called their body the Ethiopian Church, but when they heard that their brethren in the United States of America, who were far more advanced in civilization than themselves, had already seceded from the white church and organized a church known as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and that they might affiliate themselves with that body, they did so affiliate. Though there are several other small denominations which from time to time have seceded from the parent stock, the African Methodist Episcopal Church is today the strongest purely African church in the sub-continent.

But the more deeply thinking section of the people, and the more nationally minded, feel that finality in respect to indigenous independent church organizations has not yet been reached. For the space of the last five years or thereabouts a movement has set in for the formation, out of all the multitudinous denominational entities, of one great African church under one ecclesiastical rule. In the innermost mind of patriotic Africans broods a yearning for the birth of such a church, one which is not antagonistic or hostile to the parent church, but which, while enjoy-

ing separate independent existence on a footing of equality with any other religious body, still owns filial allegiance to the mother church, and labors with her on a basis of cooperation. A growing body of Bantu opinion is now strongly in favor of forming this united African church, which shall be self-governing in the fullest sense of the term, self-supporting, and self-propagating. This is a circumstance of which the mother churches must take cognizance if their African daughter is to assume her status of independence within the ecclesiastical commonwealth of the world.

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VI

COOPERATION FROM THE WEST

AN aggressive zeal has always been a prominent feature of a prosperous church, and every great period of spiritual revival develops that zeal in its most intense form. In the church of the Apostles the longing to save others carried men far and lasted long. It was this zeal that fired the churches of Europe to evangelize Africa and bring the gospel to the Bantu races of this continent. From the time of the early Portuguese explorers until today there has been light in this country from the West. It is therefore the desire of the Africans that this cooperation should continue, and that friendly relations should exist between the East and the West in everything which appertains to the Christian and economic life of the people of this country.

It is natural for native Africans to cry "Africa first." By this they do not mean "Africa only." For they value cooperation from the West, because its influence leavens the lump, it appeals to all that is noble in our nature, and it introduces new blood and stimulates new activities in Africa which, however, demand a form that will suit native conditions.

In the early days of mission work in this coun-

try, missionaries were devoted men and women whom natives followed blindly, as they considered them to be exemplary in regard to moral character, personal piety, devoutness, inner purity of heart, kindness, and benevolence. These traits in their personality, coupled with the fact that they were the only white men they saw, made them become the wonder of the natives. They were not only respected and adored, but were looked upon as true messengers of peace and good-will. They were called *abelungu*, from their long hair, which resembled the *ubulunga*, a necklace of hair worn by native women as a charm. These necklaces were supposed to protect the wearers from the ills of married life, real or imaginary, and ensure to them plenty of healthy children. The missionary was thus looked upon as a sacred pledge that the interests of natives would be protected and safeguarded.

Conditions are changed with the advent of the modern missionary. He is looked upon, rightly or wrongly, with some amount of suspicion by the natives as another representative of the aggressive system of the West. Pioneer missionaries were simple, earnest people with the love of God in their hearts and with a burning desire to spread his Kingdom. They were teachers of sound morality, builders of a true civilization, able instructors in mechanical arts, and healers of the sick. They offered no mean contribution to our knowledge of languages and to

literature. They helped to found universities and systems of education. They fought hard battles with oppression and wrong. They gave to the world a hundred translations of the word of God, and inscribed many languages for the first time. They were in fact messengers of mercy and benefactors of the world. There is now a danger of the modern missionary being grouped in the eyes of the natives with the whole company of exploiting Europeans.

Nowadays the more successful missionary is the man who brings along with his Christianity some practical or technical skill, like Dr. Laws of Livingstonia with his medical and engineering skill; Dr. Stewart of Lovedale with his teaching and organizing ability; Bishops Colenso and Callaway with their knowledge of literature and folklore; John McKenzie with his administrative capacity; Dr. Moffat of Kuruman fame with his literary and organizing talents; Dr. Philip, the champion of religious liberty and the defender of the rights of the weak; and Mackay of Uganda, the Christian engineer who sacrificed his life carrying the gospel into the dense darkness of Africa. Africa needs more medical missionaries and more men and women to teach her sons and daughters such trades as agriculture and the domestic sciences.

An Englishman once emphasized the fact that "the ordinary African is not half such a fool as he looks. He appreciates as much as anyone the advantages of

a warm blanket on chilly nights, or of an iron hoe to replace his wooden spud in digging his little field, and the man who can teach him how to earn these luxuries will obtain a proportionate influence over him." It is true that an African native is a curious compound of suspicion, superstition, childlike simplicity, and mulish obstinacy. If he knows and trusts his leader he may be guided gently towards civilization, may be made a useful member of society and even a Christian; but he will resist with the whole force of his nature any attempt to kick him from behind into comfort or into heaven.

The natives of Africa are bound closely to their chiefs. In the past missionaries have erred in not attempting to convert these chiefs, although in Madagascar, where the missionaries flung aside all hesitation and made every effort to convert the queen, the policy proved notably successful. Idols and diviners were quickly put away from the palace, public works were stopped on the Sabbath, and Sunday markets were exchanged to another convenient day. The effect on the people of this island was marvelous, said the late Dr. Mullens in his treatise on *Modern Missions and Their Results*: "Nowhere, since the Holy Spirit descended at Pentecost, has the work of the gospel been more thorough, the victories of the gospel more rapid and more complete, than in Madagascar." This change in the character of the people was undoubtedly due to the Christianizing influence

of the queen. The same result would have followed in Africa had native chiefs first been won to Christianity by the missionaries.

The growth of a race consciousness, with its natural outcome of social and political aspirations, is plainly apparent among the natives of South Africa. Expressions of this feeling cannot be suppressed. The Native Churches Commission appointed by the government in 1925 refers in its report to this race consciousness in the following words:

"Among the expressions of race consciousness the church furnishes the most striking example. In the course of our investigation we received numerous complaints from natives regarding the attitude of the present-day European missionary towards them, with touching references, enhanced no doubt by the lapse of time, to the patience, energy, brotherliness, and absence of color feeling of the old-time European missionary. It is quite certain that one of the causes of the separatist activity of the natives has been the conviction that the color-bar feeling has entered the domain of religion. The fact that today the missionary has, quite naturally and quite rightly, become the superintendent of a group of native evangelists rather than an evangelist himself, has altered the natives' conception of him and his duty. Missionaries and the natives themselves gave as the first and chief cause of the movement the desire among natives for independence in church matters, with which

desire there is almost always connected a growing race consciousness. They point out that in every direction native activity is restricted by the rules and regulations made by the white man. Such simple matters as the kind of sticks they shall carry, places where they may meet, the districts in which they may live, have become the subject of regulations made by Europeans." The Commission adds: "After nearly a century of work among the natives of South Africa the native feels that it is time he should do his bit in propagating the gospel of Christ. This aspiration has induced some natives, who felt there was not sufficient outlet for their activities within the European-controlled bodies, to establish what are known as Native Separatist churches."

There are other features which have somewhat aggravated this feeling of race consciousness among natives. One of these is the feeling that the European ministers of the present day are not sufficiently sympathetic towards their aspirations and have therefore become infected with the color-bar prejudice. This is noticeable in the case of some European ministers who, when baptizing native children, do not carry them in their bosom as they do white children, but baptize them when carried in the arms of their mothers. Another is lack of fellowship on the part of the European minister towards his brother native minister, as evidenced by his adopting the attitude of a master towards him rather than of a servant of

God or a shepherd. The present-day supervising missionary ignores the recommendations of his native colleague in matters of church administration, and also ignores the intelligent advice of educated laymen in matters pertaining to church government, and relies upon uncouth laymen whom he can easily persuade to agree with him.

The suppression of native customs which are not sinful if rightly understood, and the control of church properties and funds by European ministers without representatives from the native church on their committees, are two more thorny points between natives and Europeans.

In spite of these complaints of the natives, no evidence has been adduced to show that they are anti-European. The finding of the Native Churches Commission of 1925 clearly proves this. It runs as follows:

"The conclusion we arrive at after a careful perusal of all documents, after an examination of prominent protagonists for and against the legitimate pretensions of secession bodies, after some experience with and knowledge of these bodies, is that their vitality is not drawn from an anti-European source, that such aims as the subversion of the European political control lie usually outside their thoughts."

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NOTE ON AFRICAN-AMERICAN NEGRO COOPERATION.—(*From the Proceedings of the International Conference on the Christian Mission in Africa held at Le Zoute, Belgium, September* 13-21, 1926.)

Findings as to Facts

THERE ARE NO LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS SPECIFICALLY DIRECTED AGAINST THE AMERICAN NEGRO, BUT MOST AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS ARE OPPOSED TO, OR PLACE DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF, THE SENDING OF AMERICAN NEGROES TO AFRICA.

Opposition to the sending of American Negroes to Africa is due mainly to three factors:

(a) The unrest caused by certain movements believed to be dangerous to order and goverment and to be encouraged from America.

(b) The antagonism to government in past years of certain American Negroes in Africa, resulting in serious disturbances in some cases.

(c) The failure of certain American Negroes in Africa in past years.

Owing to the effect of one or more of the reasons above named, most African missionaries consulted do not think the present time auspicious for pressing upon government such a general change in policy as would mean the sending of a large number of American Negroes to Africa in the immediate future, although strongly believing that efforts should be made to increase gradually the number of such missionaries.

There are at present working in various parts of Africa American Negroes of the highest character and great usefulness, whose fine spirit and devoted work will in the course of a few years greatly increase the respect in which American Negro missionaries are held, and make easier the securing of permission for the entrance of additional missionaries.

There is a natural and laudable desire on the part of a large number of American missionary societies, both white and Negro, to send additional American Negroes as missionaries to Africa, thereby giving the educated Negro an outlet for his zeal to render unselfish service, and aiding in a natural and important way the cause of African evangelization, education, and general welfare.

Recommendations

IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE FINDINGS THE CONFERENCE ADOPTS THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS:

1. That the Negroes of America should be permitted by governments, and encouraged by missionary societies, to play an important part in the evangelization, medical service, and education of Africa, and that the number of their missionaries should be increased as qualified candidates are available for needed work, and as their representatives already in the field still further succeed in gaining for their people and their societies that public confidence which is essential.

2. That every practicable form of assistance should be given in the spirit of Christian fellowship, as to colleagues of the same missionary status, by white missionaries to qualified American Negroes working in Africa, and that the same spirit of cooperation should be expected by white missionaries from American Negro missionaries.

3. That governments should be supported in requiring that American Negroes wishing to enter Africa for missionary purposes should go out under the auspices of responsible societies of recognized and well established standing; and that owing to the difficult and delicate interracial situation in Africa, exceptional care should be used in the selection of men and women of strength of character and a fine spirit of cooperation, able to meet the same tests as white missionaries.

4. That in the interest of comity and cooperation American Negro missionary societies not now represented in Africa should work as far as possible through well established societies already in Africa, and that, in accordance with the general rules of missionary procedure, they should give special attention to unevangelized districts.

5. That when missionary societies of established reputation are unable to secure the admission to Africa of American Negroes needed for important work and qualified to perform it, the matter may properly be taken up with the International Missionary Council for the use of its friendly offices.

6. In adopting these resolutions the Conference recognizes that the above recommendations are not an ideal or a complete solu-

tion of the problem under consideration, but believes that they represent the "next steps" which may be wisely taken, and that they should, in the providence of God, gradually bring about a highly significant and important contribution by the Negroes of America to their distant kindred in Africa.

VII

YOUTH'S CHALLENGE TO YOUTH

IT would be an interesting, helpful, and no doubt amusing undertaking to try to obtain from an average group of Western students an honest opinion or picture of contemporary Christian young men and women in Africa. In preparation for this chapter the present writer undertook this task. Following are extracts from some of the replies received. One young man wrote: "I have always thought of boys and girls and older people too in Africa, especially those who have come under the influence of missionaries, as people who were so happy to be separated from their heathen beliefs that they believe implicitly all that they are told about the Christian life and spend their lives in ease and singing." Another wrote: "Having no past which is worth while, no art, no science, no language, no religion, the present-day Christian African is but Christian in name. I think it a pity to spoil his hitherto unencumbered mind with any of our ideas of the West." Another replied to my question by asking me one: "Is it true that Africans still eat one another?" And the following is typical of three or four replies: "I am surprised that Christian Africans have joined

with the nations of Europe that are exploiting the black man and his land. Why do they not join with the heathen who wish to free their land from alien control?" Here is a comment found in not a few: "The African Christian is my brother in Christ; he is passing through difficult times; if the faith that is mine and all that it teaches can help the African, he should have it, and so far as I am concerned shall have it."

If the above is a fair reflection of the knowledge that Western students have of Africans today, we are justified in an effort towards a better interpretation of contemporary Christian African students.

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This brief sketch of African Christian youth and their thoughts of today may be based on an examination of the following: First, the effect upon them of Christian teachings; second, the effect upon them of Western economic and political penetration; third, the new Africa.

The effect of Christian teaching upon Africa and Africans has been and is of far-reaching significance: it was at once diametrically opposed to many of the former beliefs and practices of the people; it greatly altered the African's conception of God; it brought to bear the spirit and teaching of Christ upon the life of many a village and tribe; it injected a new method and practice of education into the life of the Chris-

tian community; and it made available for all Africans who chose it a new and wider idea of and outlook upon life.

This new idea of and outlook upon life is the very essence of Jesus' teaching about the more abundant life. And this is the new spirit which is animating young African Christians today. They have inherited all the accumulated influence of the more or less formal religious teachings of the past, but in addition they have been attracted by the new note of the social significance of the gospel.

This opportunity for more abundant life which Christian teaching has given has also led young African Christians to the point where they freely compare existing conditions with those which constitute their ideal, an ideal which they believe to be practically obtainable. There is therefore dissatisfaction, questioning, and a degree of unrest. In other words there is that "divine discontent" which is not an altogether unhealthy attribute of any men or group of men who have seen the face and caught something of the spirit of our Lord. Religion among young Africans has not served as an opiate; rather there has resulted among them a condition which church history through the past four hundred years, indeed in many respects throughout the Christian era, reveals as an inevitable result of evangelistic preaching and living.

One does not believe that in the Africa of today

the whole explanation of the unrest is an anti-government, anti-European or anti-anything spirit; so far as the Christian element is concerned, it is the more positive conviction that what is wanted by the people is more of the good life of which Jesus approves.

There is another effect of Christian teaching which must be referred to in this sketch. Young Christian Africa has not only had stirred within it a consciousness of a great lack and want, but it has developed among some of its members, at least, such a keen desire to have their needs met that they are realizing a healthy patriotism under the slogan "Africa for the Africans." They are demonstrating qualities of individual service and sacrifice for the larger whole, and are vigorously maintaining the right of all Africans to the enjoyment of the fullest life obtainable.

To be sure, young Christian Africa is feeling the evils of its own pre-Christian past as well as the failures of its Christian present. The demon world, superstition born of ignorance, and that vast body of social delinquency, as well as man's propinquity to what we call sin—all of this reaches its horny hand from the dark past and thwarts young Africa of today. In addition, forces and movements from without are influencing Africans for better or for worse. To the Christian youth of the West young Africa's response to the challenge of its past from within and of its present from without should suggest both a

responsibility and an opportunity. The great Father is leading Africa's youth into a new experience. He who declared that he came into the world in order that people might have life and have it more abundantly, and who again made known to mankind that he was the Way, the Truth and the Life —this same Jesus, transcending time, space and race, has, through the magnetism of his person, the attractiveness of his teachings, and the life and service of his followers, touched and inspired a portion of the youth in Africa. This portion is now a part of the Universal Christian Tribe and wishes to join hands with all fellow members in achieving the avowed aims of Jesus Christ in the life and spirit of Africa and of the world.

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Let us consider the effect of Western economic and political penetration upon the thinking of African Christian youth. The exploitation of Africa's natural products and possessions runs annually into many millions of dollars, gold, diamonds, copper, iron and coal being among the chief of these. Her agricultural possibilities are being only a little less assiduously developed, as witness the production of cocoa, coffee, rubber and cotton.

Politically Africa is an appendage of Europe, more than ninety per cent of her territory and population having fallen under the control of the Great Powers of that Western continent. For weal or woe

the future of Africa and its large population is having its mold set, not by the forces and ideals which grow more or less out of her own past, but by those which come out of the experiences and achievements of another continent and body of civilization.

In this penetration we behold a force which is undeniably formidable, almost inexorable. One hardly has time to deplore it. It is overwhelmingly real. For our purpose here let it suffice to state that it is impossible for the Christian youth of Africa to be anything but greatly affected by a situation whereby such a large portion of its life is controlled by forces from without. It is for us now to look into the nature of the effect of this Western penetration.

We shall refer to the following specific effects of it on Christian youth: first, their confusion, bewilderment and disillusionment; second, the stimulation and growth of nationalistic or racial thinking among them; third, their effort to understand the present situation and the desire and will to correct and improve it.

That among the great body of Christian youth in Africa today there is to be found much of confusion, bewilderment and disillusionment is inevitable in view of the rapid changes in the past. We have seen in the preceding chapters how the family and tribal life of the people has been radically disturbed, and how the larger social and economic life has been shifted into an altogether new and faster gear. New

ideas and methods of government have been introduced; the very *raison d'être* of living has to a great extent been altered. Even the educated Christian youth of the continent cannot be expected, provided it were desirable, to assimilate in so short a time the ideas and methods of a civilization like that of the West, differing so radically from that of Africa. They find themselves living, so to speak, in a strange land whose language they do not speak and whose methods they do not understand.

Disillusionment is the tragedy growing out of what we have just observed, for although many of the church in Africa do not fully understand, they see and think well enough to know that a large part of what is taking place about them is not only contrary to their conception of their own best interests but likewise far from being in accord with what they believe to be the Christian teaching.

It cannot therefore come as a surprise to anybody that as a result of what we have just pointed out, Africans are joining together and taking counsel among themselves and with their proved friends. The very instinct of self-preservation leads them to think in terms of national or racial significance. Travel how, where, and when one may, in those parts of Africa where the white man's influence is being felt one will always find people who will talk, not altogether unintelligently, and very often not

without feeling, about the European or white man and his dealings with Africans.

Nor are Christian Africans to be regarded as in any respect separated from this development among the people. Their approach to and participation in it may be and often is tempered by their religion and education, but their concern about and desire for a larger, happier, and more useful life for all Africans are none the less keen.

This attitude among Africans varies according to the conditions prevailing in particular parts of the continent. In West Africa it may be that what Africans want is a larger share in the government of the land and in the positions and emoluments ensuing therefrom. Or it may be that nationalistic and racial thinking are stimulated by the consciousness of a need for more state-provided facilities for health and education. In South Africa racial and nationalistic thinking among African Christians is stimulated by acts of the European-controlled government, which, it is claimed, handicap Africans in their desire and necessity to adjust themselves to the rapidly changing conditions there which touch every phase of life. The matters that concern them are moral, social, political and industrial, including the right to labor as one may be fitted, the right to the particular sort of education which one desires and for which one is able and willing to pay, and the right to control land and have a voice in legislative measures

touching upon land and those who live upon it. In East Africa it may be land and labor conditions which largely account for nationalistic or racial thinking.

Too generally Europeans do not see African welfare as compatible with a realization of their own desires. As a result suspicion, distrust, nationalistic or racial thinking and acting, even opposition to the presence in Africa of some Europeans, are inevitable even among African Christians. To my mind this is one of the most serious aspects of the African situation. Certainly the growth of racial feeling and the undesirable aspects of nationalistic feeling and thinking will not become less until Africans are convinced that their own welfare and growth in every respect are a recognized and practised function of government.

But in spite of this intensity of feeling, it is a remarkable characteristic of the leaders of young Africa today that they are putting forth a splendid effort to understand this situation and to improve it. That effort is characterized by a manifest desire to be fair. No wholesale condemnation of everything foreign has yet received any general response. There have rather been expressions of the mind of the people moderately stated and demonstrating a willingness to cooperate. For instance, most Christian Africans are mindful of the great contribution the missionary enterprise has made to their land. And although there are exceptions, most missionaries are

usually singled out as among the true friends of Africa. Africans see outstanding mistakes in past and present missionary policy; they likewise observe what appear to them as unchristian practices on the part of some missionaries; and African Christians are becoming worthy critics of such actions. But for the general missionary undertaking there is profound respect, and genuine gratitude and cooperation.

By the same token the youth of the church in Africa are not unmindful of the good that has come to them as a result of outside political and economic advances. Nor do the developments in the policies and attitudes of governments and commerce escape their attention and appreciation. The plain fact is that almost throughout the section of Africa covered by the writers of this book, there is still the undoubted disposition on the part of the people, Christian and otherwise, to respond to forward steps on the part of governments. Indeed, one dares to assert that to the extent that those who govern in Africa give sincere and progressive evidence of their good faith as regards the present and future of Africans, they will receive the cooperation of Africans to a corresponding degree. There is abundant evidence of this in the Transkeian parts of South Africa, in parts of the west coast, and in the Congo, to say nothing of other sections of the continent where improved policies are being inaugurated.

Yes, Africans are still moderate, will and do cooperate, and are appreciative of the good coming to them from outside. But, in their confusion and effort to understand, they have a consciousness not only of their own internal difficulties, due to forces which come from their own past experiences, but of a vast body of handicap from without. And surely in this day it should not be the desire of any organized groups to further fasten handicaps upon a struggling people. At any rate, one believes that this effort of Africans to understand, and their willingness to cooperate, coupled with their sense of moderation, are human qualities not too often found, and are worthy therefore of encouragement by those who govern Africa today. These qualities likewise make their strong appeal to fellow members of the Universal Christian Tribe; and we believe the appeal will be heard.

It must be manifest that it is out of a new Africa that we of the church of that land speak to you of the church in the West. To be sure much of the old life still exists. Witchcraft is still a force with us; ignorance and superstition hold high their ugly heads. Millions yet have to get a glimpse of the face of a God of Love and be assured that in Jesus Christ have been manifested the promises a loving Father has for them. And the winds which carry our message across the seas to you to whom so much has been given, cannot bear down upon you too swiftly

with our urgent request that you share with us the light and love and life of Jesus Christ.

But it is the New Africa which renders our situation so acute. You of the West are part of your present; it has grown out of your past, and you have developed or are developing a means of controlling more or less the systems of life you have built up. But we in Africa are in a situation of which we are not so fully a part. Your ideas, your methods, your beliefs and desires have steadily engulfed us. We find ourselves compelled to drive a fiery steed or at least be in the road where he is driven. We did not have the steed as a colt; he has come upon us in the strength and strangeness of his maturity. In order that we may not be thrown off or trampled under the feet of this steed which has been set loose among us, we call upon you to join hands with us in a common effort to understand and direct the forces he represents in Western civilization.

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The youth of the church of Africa have given good heed to that significant utterance made by Jesus, "I have come that they may have life, and that they may have it more abundantly." And it is nothing less than the full meaning of that statement that African youth desire. In other words, the youth of Africa wish, first, that Africa and our fellow Africans may be won to the ranks of Christ's followers; and second, that the present forces of Western

life which have been released in Africa may be so controlled and directed as to make for the happiness, prosperity and usefulness of African lives as well as the facility and success of government and trade.

Let us discuss the first aspect, the evangelization of Africa. The missionary enterprise has behind it a body of achievement of which it may well be proud. There have of course been mistakes and failures. Opportunities to represent Christ more fully have been permitted to pass unused. Still one is thrilled and amazed by the history of what has been accomplished as a result of the courage, the unconquerable faith, and the full sacrifice of hundreds of men and women who have come out to us in Africa from your Western lands. The influence and results of missionary endeavor are written large and ineffaceably in Africa and upon African hearts today.

Yet one makes bold to say that the missionary enterprise has the greater part of its task ahead. Either by foreigners or Africans, preferably by both together, there are millions of Africans still to be won to the great Tribe of God. I write of practical needs. There are literally millions of Africans whose minds have still to be freed of the fear of evil spirits and given some knowledge of a Christ concerned with every phase of their life. It is significant that our people are receptive, that they give little or no serious resistance to missionary efforts provided such efforts are supported by consistent Christian living. Every one of these millions is eligible to member-

ship in the body of those who name Christ as Lord. Young Christian Africans want them won to Christ. They realize that there can be little progress so long as the vast bulk of our people have about their necks the millstone of heathenism with all of its religious and social implications. One believes that when the Christian forces of the West and of Africa are as ready to do their work as the political and economic forces are to do theirs, they will find in young Christian Africa a response, a willingness to cooperate, and a readiness for sacrifice which will truly reveal the Lord's stamp upon them.

But let us make no mistake about it. It is going to cost something to Christianize the new and future Africa. That price will be one which must be paid first in responding afresh to the insistent call of the Good Shepherd for his sheep—for *all* his sheep. The response to this call will take non-Christian Africa to the loving heart of God. It will become a new life that Africans will live then, and that life is what young Christian Africans want.

The youth of the church of Africa believe that this quickened zeal for the cause of Christ must also help obtain for them their second desire, namely, that the forces of Western life which have been released in Africa may be so led and directed by the spirit of Christ as to make for the increased happiness, prosperity, and usefulness of the African people. This demand that the social order be Christian-

ized is no new thing to you. It has become such a real part of your thinking and acting that no gathering of Christian young people or students is ever held where it is not in one respect or another the main theme. Indeed, in your missionary zeal you are beginning to see the impossibility of sending out missionaries to us unsupported by a real and appreciable body of Christians living in your home countries.

There is another thing you have discovered, and this is that there is no longer any such place as "far away." The world has become a neighborhood, and you are beginning to see that it must by the same token become a brotherhood. And there can be no world brotherhood until in every land those conditions necessary to brotherhood obtain. Christian Africans desire to oppose every idea, institution, or custom which tends to perpetuate the circumstances which they think should be changed. What are some of these?

One of the first things the gospel of Christ does for a man is to place upon him the stamp of individuality. He becomes a new person. And this new person is the very essence of his being. One of the saddest things this writer has seen in Africa has been that of African manhood—Christian manhood and womanhood—cut to the very heart because of a violation of personality. Too many Europeans have such an exalted conception of their own prestige that

the humanity of Africans is ignored. By law and by foreign custom the African is often made a cheap man. A stigma is placed upon him. He is too often regarded as the material possessions of the country are regarded, and as the climate is regarded when it is good, as a means towards the happiness of the European. He is too seldom regarded as an end in himself, as a being possessing possibly unique gifts and qualities, and as a potential contributor to the social and spiritual welfare of the world.

Now Christian Africans want to see this changed. They protest against the effort to nullify their personality. Manifestly their efforts may be weak and ineffectual. Sometimes their very politeness is regarded as acquiescence in the attitudes against which they protest; but it is a serious mistake so to consider it. The African readily admits those differences brought about by heritage or background. He likewise has no hesitancy in affirming that in many respects he has not developed as has the European. But as regards that indescribable something which enters into the making of a man, and which becomes greatly enhanced as a result of contact with the spirit and personality of Christ, the African contends for his essential humanity, his indisputable parity.

The first thing, then, that young Christian Africa wants is the removal of this stigma which runs through almost every phase of the new life that has come from without. This change in attitude perhaps

more than any other single force will have the effect of challenging millions of Africans to join the forces of the Christian church and all that that implies.

In the second place, Christian Africans desire that the whole program of education be set forward, so that as rapidly and thoroughly as possible the masses of Africans may be lifted out of realms of intellectual darkness. There is a growing awareness of the fact that such education may with complete safety be based on what we believe to be the Christian ideal in life, and that that ideal must consider health, the earning of a living, and the providing of that leadership whereby the genius of a people may be drawn out and expressed.

Young Christian Africa also desires and will never be satisfied until it sees our people here in a fair way of earning a decent livelihood. This certainly opens up the question of the right to and occupation of land. It likewise questions any measure, legislative, social or otherwise, the object of which is to restrict Africans in the pursuance of any work they may be capable of doing. Christian Africans cannot place any other interpretation upon Jesus' doctrine of the abundant life.

A final thing that Christian Africans want is a reasonable freedom to achieve their belief in themselves and their desires for fellow Africans. They realize their own temporary limitations in the light

of the new conditions, but they do not for one moment admit or recognize any inability, provided they have proper guidance, to examine and adjust themselves to these new conditions. Manifestly this will take a long time, but for this very reason Africans maintain that to the extent that individuals among them demonstrate their capacity for responsibilities they should also assume responsibilities.

To summarize, therefore, is but again to state that the Christian youth of Africa want for the whole African population a place in the great tribe of Christ's followers, and a social order of which they can truly believe that it is of God. For this they are determined to work in the light of the knowledge that God gives them.

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How can the youth of the church of the West cooperate with the youth of the church of Africa? Throughout this chapter the idea of cooperation has been both stressed and implied. Our repeated reference to the missionary enterprise shows how strongly we believe in it. We have also tried to show that the youth of the church in Africa share a cooperative spirit and attitude toward whatever is good in the outside forces which have entered the continent. We come now to a consideration of how the youth of the church of the West may cooperate with us in Africa. This is the grandest portion of our theme, for is it

not the very life and spirit of the missionary undertaking?

At first thought it might appear that the points or opportunities for cooperation are very limited, but such is by no means the case.

In his foreword to *The Foreign Student in America*, Dr. Robert E. Speer writes as follows:

"American life and the Christian church have never met a more severe and searching test than they are meeting today in the presence of the foreign students in our schools. These young men and women from many lands are testing the honesty of political and social axioms which have constituted our American tradition. They are proving the reality of our profession of Christian brotherhood and equality. Almost all of them came here in full confidence and hope; many of them are going back disillusioned, some bitter, some sorrowful. Many of them received their first shock at the port of entry as they came in. Some of them went on and met with the very evils which they had come to America to transcend. Some found that the Christianity which they had acquired from American missionaries was not confirmed by the Christianity which they met in the land which had sent the missionaries forth."

It is hardly necessary to point out that all Dr. Speer has said of foreign students in general is true particularly of African students. They may not be present in Western countries in large numbers, but

many of those who have managed to come to you are young men who have the ability to bring back to their native land the very best that Europe and America have to offer. It is therefore necessary for you to see that by a kindly, friendly reception, some associates of character, and the opportunity to see and to share in some of your more worthy activities, the African student may return with his essential religion strengthened, his sense of fellowship real, and his mind unembittered by a memory of experiences which may not only disillusion him but may make him question the reality of the Christian faith.

In the second place it is incumbent upon the Christian youth of the West to know something about Africa and her peoples. It is all the more necessary in view of the often exaggerated works of evil propaganda which are being made available on so many sides.

One knows of no opportunities which afford better means of cooperating with Africans than those offered to people who in one capacity or another go out to that continent, or being born out there enter sympathetically into the life of the African people. The story of the relationships of outside governments and their representatives may not always be creditable to them, but it is a fact capable of verification on every hand that among many government officers as well as business men there has been exercised in their contact with Africans an influence both

official and otherwise which has revealed some of the finest qualities in Western life. To know, for instance, that a foreigner in Africa has been a member of the Student Christian Association in any part of the world is almost at once to know that in such a person one will find a response to the needs and aspirations of Africans. The hope therefore is that large numbers of the men who are daily turning their faces towards Africa, particularly for business and governmental purposes, may be men in whose minds there has taken root some conception of Africans sharing increasingly in the unfolding of what must be God's plans and purposes for that continent.

I have by design left until last the consideration of the missionary enterprise and the new opportunity for cooperation between Africans and Western Christian youth, in order that it may have the full weight of all that has gone before in these pages. Our hopes for Africa, our prayers for her growth under God, and our belief in the possibilities of her sons eventually working out their own problem—all of these are based on the conviction that the whole missionary enterprise must go forward.

It is no narrow conception of missions that we have in mind, nor is it a one-sided contribution that is desired. What we want is nothing less than a cooperative effort to bring to bear upon Africa's needs the full power of God's will for the world today. Manifestly, that touches every phase of life and de-

mands much from Africans as well as from foreigners.

To rest our case with confidence in the final outcome we must try here to answer the following questions: (1) Is missionary work still required in Africa? (2) What must be the content of this work? (3) What must be the quality of missionaries?

Is missionary work still required in Africa? The answer on the part of every African who has seriously thought this question through is without doubt in the affirmative. To be sure, all are not blind to the mistakes and sometimes the failures of individual missionaries; nor is every large policy of mission societies necessarily so ordered and carried through as to make for the best results. But the observation of fair-minded Africans takes them to the very heart of the witness which missionaries have borne, and that is Christ himself. Those people who argue against missions and say that the African should be let alone and permitted to work out in his own time his own new religion and life, forget that in no other respect will Africans be let alone. The fact of outside influence upon almost every phase of African life cannot be denied, nor are there any signs that this influence will become less in the future; the evidence is just the opposite. Therefore we Africans today require all of the spiritual, moral, and social strengthening possible for us to obtain. And we know from what we see in Africa that the power of God,

even as that power has been expressed through the poor human channel, is a power unto our full and free salvation. Without any hesitancy we register our fullest support of the missionary undertaking, and we express our great desire that this enterprise be carried forward in the spirit and with the results which we believe God desires of it.

What is to be the content of future missionary activity? In trying to answer this very question Mr. J. H. Oldham affirms: "Nothing is adequate to the situation which the Christian church has to face in Africa except a new birth. There must be an outburst of new forces comparable to the breaking forth of fresh life in the church more than a century ago, which led to the birth of the missionary societies which we represent." What is needed is not something utterly different from the past, for, as Mr. Oldham points out, "much that the new future will hold has its beginnings and sproutings in the past." Let us make ourselves perfectly clear. African students share fully the belief that the foundation of missionary endeavor must be that of evangelization, even as understood by missionaries of a past generation; that is to say, evangelization in the sense of making known to men the word of Christ and thereby making for the change in life which may follow. But let us here quote Oldham's fine statement, made at the Christian Mission in Africa conference held at Le Zoute, Belgium, in 1926.

"It is not enough for the fulfillment of the missionary task that the missionary representatives of the church should be *in* Africa, scattered throughout the continent. It is possible to be in Africa in the physical sense, to stand on African soil, and yet to be outside the real life of the continent. Our attention has been directed in this conference to the powerful new forces that are reshaping the life of the African peoples. We are not discharging missionary obligation if, while present physically in Africa, we ignore these new forces and remain apart from them. They are a vital part of the world in which our Christian witness has to be borne. To be truly missionary we must be in among them, in living relations with them, bringing to bear on them the living influence of the Christian revelation. Not to rest content with being in Africa and preaching on African soil but to get as near as we can to the throbbing heart and center of the movement of African life, is the further call that comes to us as our understanding of the missionary task expands and deepens."

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There is just one other consideration: who is sufficient for all of these things? This is addressed directly to you of the church of the West and leads us to discuss the last division of this chapter. What should be some of the qualities of the future missionary? "By their fruits ye shall know them." The

point that I have tried to make clear in discussing the content of future missionary activity in Africa is that it is not an altogether new program that is required. It is rather a program with the same underlying basis of evangelization, the same spiritual dynamic, which have characterized the missionary enterprise from the days of St. Paul right down through the ranks of those who have been used of God in making his love known to men. What has been stressed, however, is the need for bringing this unique strength of missionary work to bear upon every phase of the new and complicated conditions which obtain wherever such work is being carried on in Africa.

Now this same idea applies in regard to the qualities of the future missionary. Expressed in simple non-theological terms, one believes that the missionaries of today and tomorrow, like unto those of old, must have in their life those qualities which place the stamp of Christ upon them. They must indeed bear witness to Christ in a very real way. But there is a quality of witness-bearing which young Africans expect in present and future missionaries: that is the witness of works, of fruit, and not only of words. That old saying, "What you do speaks so loud I cannot hear what you say," is for many Africans the test due to be applied to the sincerity of missionary activity, and is one by which the whole missionary enterprise is sometimes judged. By this it is not meant that these qualities have been hitherto absent,

nor does one wish to underrate the past ministry of works, for it has been of real and large content. What one is trying to say is that the future missionary must possess a spiritual foundation, must be a witness bearer, of such nature and quality that in every phase of his relationship with Africans the fact of Christ in his life will be evidenced.

It is not necessary to stress here another quality required of the missionary, namely, that of preparation. While one does not go so far as to say that only college or university trained people should go out as missionaries, one may believe that exception to the rule should be made only in recognition of other outstanding personal gifts.

The present writer was one day discussing with a very able fellow-African the racial question as it bears upon missionary activity. Our conversation had drifted to a discussion of the growth of Islam in South Africa when my friend stopped somewhat suddenly and made the following significant observation. Said he: "If Mohammedanism were today as well organized in this country as Christianity, and if there were no political barriers placed in its way, it would, I fear, be in a fair way of drawing hundreds of thousands if not millions of Africans into its fold." When I asked him why he thought so he replied, "Because, I am told, in Mohammedanism there is no color bar, no racial distinction." This is a strong and serious argument. It refers to a matter

upon which well-nigh all Africans, Christians as well as non-Christians, are thinking and upon which they feel with keenness. The indictment which can be more or less truthfully brought today, that in their relationships with Africans all missionaries are not free from manifestations of a sense of racial superiority contrary to what we Africans believe to be the Christian ethic, is one of a most serious nature, and one which has often been felt by African Christians to be a mighty barrier in the way of the realization of the will of God in Africa.

One thinks of no more significant challenge to the Christian youth of the West than that of living out in their relationships the teachings and practices of Christ. And in reference to racial relationships the glorious fact is that such a life can be lived. This writer can testify to numerous instances in South Africa where, in spite of conditions which make the Christian teaching on the attitude of race toward race difficult to achieve, that teaching is nevertheless lived out by men and women to whom truth and light and God are more than inhibitory restrictions decreed by custom or prejudice. And to this number of people who are true to Christ in this respect there is due much of the credit for the still existing possibility of preaching an increasingly convincing and acceptable gospel to Africans. As regards the contact of race with race, the African Christian believes that a man may either possess Christ, or possess ideas about

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The present writer was one day discussing with a very able fellow-African the racial question as it bears upon missionary activity. Our conversation had drifted to a discussion of the growth of Islam in South Africa when my friend stopped somewhat suddenly and made the following significant observation. Said he: "If Mohammedanism were today as well organized in this country as Christianity, and if there were no political barriers placed in its way, it would, I fear, be in a fair way of drawing hundreds of thousands if not millions of Africans into its fold." When I asked him why he thought so he replied, "Because, I am told, in Mohammedanism there is no color bar, no racial distinction." This is a strong and serious argument. It refers to a matter

upon which well-nigh all Africans, Christians as well as non-Christians, are thinking and upon which they feel with keenness. The indictment which can be more or less truthfully brought today, that in their relationships with Africans all missionaries are not free from manifestations of a sense of racial superiority contrary to what we Africans believe to be the Christian ethic, is one of a most serious nature, and one which has often been felt by African Christians to be a mighty barrier in the way of the realization of the will of God in Africa.

One thinks of no more significant challenge to the Christian youth of the West than that of living out in their relationships the teachings and practices of Christ. And in reference to racial relationships the glorious fact is that such a life can be lived. This writer can testify to numerous instances in South Africa where, in spite of conditions which make the Christian teaching on the attitude of race toward race difficult to achieve, that teaching is nevertheless lived out by men and women to whom truth and light and God are more than inhibitory restrictions decreed by custom or prejudice. And to this number of people who are true to Christ in this respect there is due much of the credit for the still existing possibility of preaching an increasingly convincing and acceptable gospel to Africans. As regards the contact of race with race, the African Christian believes that a man may either possess Christ, or possess ideas about

racial relations tinged with prejudice contrary to Christ's spirit; he may possess one of these attitudes or the other; he cannot possess both.

There is one other quality necessary to the youth of the church in the West as they look forward to the privilege of being a co-worker with God in his creative plans and purposes. We are all expected to have for ourselves a theory of the universe. As applied to Africa and Africans such a theory assumes an understanding of what must be the will of God for so great a land and so large a population. And if God is righteousness, justice, beauty, love, truth, then he must will all of these for Africans. When, therefore, you of the West come out to us, you owe it to God as well as to yourselves to come out sharing this will of the Father, and seeing the possibilities of its realization in Africa and Africans.

This is the message that we of the church in Africa send to you of the church in the West. This Africa that we have been talking about is assuredly in the hand of God, even as we all are in his hand. And it is with the conviction that God will work his will among us as well as among you that we join with you to the end that his will may be realized everywhere.

MAX YERGAN

Alice, Cape Province

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